THE ROLE OF FAMILY GROUPS OF NOBLES IN MUGHAL POLITICS, 1556 - 1627

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This is to certify that the thesis "The Role of Family Groups of Nobles in Mughal Politics 1556-1627" submitted by Mr Afzal Husain is the original work of the candidate and is suitable for submission to the examiners and for the award of the Ph.D. degree.

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C O N T E N T S

Introduction

The study of Mughal nobility has attracted a good deal of attention of scholars of Medieval Indian History in recent years, and two important works, M. Athar Ali's The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, and Satish Chandra's Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740, have already been published. Research papers on various aspects of the working of the nobility have also appeared in learned journals.[1] But barring these few articles or one or two monographs on the lives of important nobles and family of nobles, no comprehensive study of the structure of the nobility and the role of the nobles during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir has been attempted so far.

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1. Some of the important works are as follows:

   Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy 1560-80', JRAS, 1968.
   Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal Court Politics During Bairam Khan's Regency', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. I, 21-38.
   Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's Reign - A Political Study', Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. I, 74-97.
   M. Athar Ali, 'Foundation of Akbar's Organisation of Nobility - An Interpretation', Medieval India Quarterly, 1958, III, 290-99.
   S. Nurul Hasan, 'The Theory of Nur Jahan Junta - A Critical Study', Indian History Congress, 1958, 324-35.
   Iqtidar Alam Khan, Political Biography of a Mughal Noble: Munim Khan Khan Khanan 1497-1575, Aligarh.
   Rajiv Narain Prasad, 'Raja Man Singh of Amber, Calcutta, 1966.

The present study is a humble beginning in this direction; however its scope is limited to the study of the role of only important family groups. But realising that such study might be one-sided, we have also tried to take into account the study of the nobility as a whole in our analysis of the role of family groups of nobles.

A study of this kind must necessarily begin with the nobility of Babur and Humayun. To the knowledge of the present writer no detailed work had been done so far for this period. As it would/have not been possible to understand the complex problem of the nobility under Akbar (particularly during his early years) without a survey of the nobility during the previous two reigns, we have attempted a brief survey of the nobility as it existed and functioned under both Babur and Humayun.

<u>The Nobility under Babur and Humayun</u>:

COMPOSITION OF THE NOBILITY : - Babur's nobles or the Begs as he calls them in his memors were largely of Central Asian origin with the exception of a few Iranis who might have joined his service in minor capacities, after the fall of Timuride power in Hirat.[1] However, much before the conquest of Hindustan, he came into contact with Indian nobles, as certain dissatisfied

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1. See Appendix. List of nobles who were present in the battle of Panipat. <u>Baburnama</u> (tr. Beveridge) 471-73; <u>Akbarnama</u>, I, 96. Also see, <u>Life of Munim Khan</u>, p.ix.

nobles of Sikandar Lodi actually invited him.[1] When he embarked on the conquest of Hindustan and reached Dun[2] (in *pargana* Jaswan), Imad Shirazi came from Araish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab with a letter, 'containing assurance of their attachment to my interest and urging me to continue resolutely the expedition I had commenced'. In reply to their letter Babur assured them of 'protection and favours'.[3] About the same time Alam Khan son of Bahlol Lodi also came to him in a wretched condition. Babur sent his nobles to welcome him; he was given horses as a mark of favour.[4] However, before the battle of Panipat, apparently such Afghan allies were not taken into confidence and were kept away from the battle.

After the battle of Panipat, Babur's attitude underwent a great change. He realised the necessity of admitting Afghan and Indian nobles in his ruling class and reposing confidence in them for establishing his rule in India. Immediately after the battle of Panipat on the intercession of several persons, Malik Dad Karrani was not only pardoned but also

1. *Baburnama*, 459-61.

2. Dun:- It is a fertile valley in the Hoshiyarpur district from four to eight miles in breadth situated between Sola Singh range of the outer Himalayas and the Kata Dhar ridge of the Sivalik. Cf. *Baburnama* (tr. Eraskin), II, 173,n.1.

3. *Baburnama* (tr. Erskin), 175-76. Beveridge's translation is defective. Cf. *Baburnama* (Beveridge), 463, while Babur was in Dun, Ismail Jilwani and Biban also wrote him letters.

4. *Baburnama* (Beveridge), 464.

assigned several _parganas_.[1] Abul Fazl adds that when he established himself in Agra, 'with the strength of his liberality and justice composed the distractions of the country. Accordingly many of the officers of Hindustan and rulers of the country gradually entered his service'.[2] Among them was Shaikh Ghuran who brought with him as many as 'three thousand soldiers and quiver weavers from Doab'.[3] Firoz Khan, Mahmud Khan Nauhani, Qazi Jia and Shaikh Bayazid also joined his service after the battle of Panipat.[4] When Humayun was in Dalmau, Fath Khan Sarwani son of Azam Humayun, a leading noble of the Lodis, presented himself. Humayun sent him to the court, where Babur received him favourably. Babur in his memoirs writes, 'We invited Fath Khan Sarwani to a wine party, gave him wine, bestowed on him a turban and robe of honour of my own wearing'.[5] He was given the title of Khan-i Jahan and _jagir_ to the value of 1,60,00000 _tankas_ over and above those assigned to his father. He was also permitted to go to his _jagir_ but his son Mahmud Khan was asked to remain always at the Court.[6] Certain other officers of the Lodis like Nizam Khan, Tatar Khan, Muhammad Zaitun also submitted and were admitted to service.[7]

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1. _Baburnama_, 477.
2. _Akbarnama_, I, 101-102.
3. _Ibid._ Abul Fazl mentions that they were men of 'mark'. _Baburnama_, 527.
4. _Baburnama_, 527; _Akbarnama_, 102.
5. _Baburnama_, 537; _Akbarnama_, I, 104.
6. _Ibid._ But the details of _jagir_ assignment have been given by Abul Fazl only. Cf. _Akbarnama_, I, 104.
7. _Baburnama_, 539-40

From the accounts of the Baburnama it becomes quite clear that Babur not only admitted Indian nobles because of political compulsions, but also reposed confidence in them. The Indian nobles who were admitted in service were given important assignments or jagirs. For example, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was given jagir to the value of 1,46,05,000 tankas from Jaunpur, Mahmud Khan received jagir worth 90,35,000 tankas from Ghazipur and Qazi Jia, of twenty lacs tankas.[1] Similarly other nobles were also given jagirs of high value.[2] In all major engagements, following the battle of Panipat, Indian nobles fought in the army of Babur against Indian chiefs. The list of officers mentioned in the Baburnama at the time time of the battles of Khanua, Chanderi and in the campaign in the eastern region bear testimony to this.[2] To make them more loyal to the Mughal ruler, Babur invited Indian nobles along with the Central Asian nobles to his assemblies of nobles. There are frequent references of such meetings in the Baburnama.[3]

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1. Baburnama, 527.

2. Ibid., 521, 527, 679. For more details, see I.H. Khan, 'Babur's settlement of his conquests in Hindustan', Indian History Congress

2 Baburnama (565-68); Akbarnama, I, 107. In the battle against Rana Sanga, Araish Khan, Shaikh Ghuran, Jalal Khan, Kamal Khan son of Sultan Alauddin Ali Khan Shaikhzada of farman, Nizam Khan Mulkdad Karrani, Dilawar Khan and Khan Khanan were present. In the campaign against Biban and Bayazid also, Indian nobles like Alam Khan of Kalpi, Malik Dad Kharrani and Rao (Rawni) Sarwani were despatched. Baburnama, 682.

3. Baburnama, 627, 637.

It also appears that Babur made a beginning in establishing friendly relations with the local chiefs. There are statements in the Baburnama, which suggest that the Raja of Kahlur, Sangur Khan Janguha and Adham Khan Gakhar accepted Babur's suzerainty and served him in the battle of Khanva.[1]

In the light of this evidence, it may be inferred that the nobility of Babur after the battle of Panipat no longer remained purely Turani.[2] We have prepared a list of nobles of Babur based on Baburnama and other contemporary and near contemporary sources to corroborate this view. Out of a total of 116 nobles, 31 were Indians including Afghans and Shaikhzadas.[3] Hence, Akbar's introduction of the Indian element in his nobility was not a novel idea. The credit which should rather go to him is for his full integration of these elements in his ruling class.

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1. Raja of Kahlur in 1529 waited on Babur with a huge amount of peshkash. Tarikh-i Sher Shahi, 124. Sangur Khan Janjuha, chief from Behra was killed in the battle of Khanva. Adam Gakhar also fought against Rana Sanga. Cf. Baburnama, 379, 383, 547-48; Akbarnama, I, 195-96. For more details about Babur's relations with local chiefs, see I.R. Khan, 'Babur's settlement of his conquests in Hindustan', Indian History Congress, 19

2. See Life of Munim Khan. Iqtidar Alam Khan believes that the 31 Indian nobles joined Babur for a very brief period only and hence he considers that Babur's nobility remained purely Turani. But we find that a large number of the Indian remained with the Mughals even after Babur's death and during the early years of Humayun. What can be nearer the truth will be that though a number of Indians remained within the nobility, the Chaghtai tradition remained dominant, because Indian nobles could not be fully assimilated.

3. For the list of Babur's nobles, see Appendix.

But Babur could not succeed in doing so, because of the short period of his reign, and also because he could not completely subjugate the Afghans who formed the bulk of the Indian nobility at the time. However, at the time of his death and during the early years of Humayun's reign, a number of Indian nobles were in the service of Mughals. The author of Qanun-i Humayuni, while discussing the festivities in the year 1534, gives a list of nobles who were given rewards. In that list the names of the following Indian nobles occur: Jalal Khan son of Sultan Alauddin, Mahmud Khan Sarwani, Jalal Khan son of Nasir Khan, Jalal Khan son of Darya Khan, Bayazid Khan and Gadai Khan.[1] There are some other references to the presence of certain other nobles of Indian origin during the early years of his reign.[2] But as soon as the Afghan resistance grew stronger, the 'Mughal Afghan' nobles started defecting. Apart from that, the infighting among the Mughal princes, sharp division in the Turani nobility and Humayun's incapacity to deal with the situation, firmly may also have contributed in the flight of Indian nobility, to go to some other quarter for the better fortunes (we know that many of the Afghan nobles went to Gujarat).[3] However, certain Afghan and Shaikhzadas remained loyal to Humayun until his conquest of Bengal.

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1. Qanun-i Humayuni, 96-99

2. For instance, Araish Khan and Shaikh Jamal.

3. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, 'Political Role of the Refugees from Delhi in under Sultan Bahadur Shah', Indian History Congress, 1972, 406.

Hence the Mughal nobility which had become predominantly Turani after the accession of Humayun became purely Turani shortly afterwards, with the exception, as before, of a few Iranis.[1]

A great change in the composition of Mughal nobility occurred between 1540 and 1555 (after Humayun's defeat at the hands of Sher Shah and the protracted civil war in Afghanistan). Most of his Turani nobles left him and joined Mirza Kamran. A list of nobles, who accompanied Humayun to Iran, given by Abul Fazl includes only twenty six persons in all. It is significant that out of these seven were of Irani origin.[2]

On the other hand during his stay in Iran, many people of Irani origin joined Humayun's service. For instance Wali Beg Zulqadar and his two sons, Husain Quli and Ismail Quli, Haider Sultan Shaibani and his two sons Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan. Certain other relations and clansmen of Bairam Khan also joined Humayun's service, though in minor capacities.[3]

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1. Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani Elements in Akbar's Nobility', _Indian History Congress_, 1975.

2. _Akbarnama_, I, 221-22. See Appendix 'A' for the list of nobles. Bayazid Bayat has also given a list. It has twenty eight names. See _Tazkira-i Humayun_, 4-7.

3. These names may be found in the three lists provided by Bayazid Bayat. The first list includes nobles who accompanied Humayun on the conquest of Qandhar, the second when Humayun embarked on the conquest of Kabul, and the third when Humayun invaded India.
Cf. _Tazkira-i Humayun_, 4-7, 52-53, 177-87.
See also Abul Fazl's list, _Akbarnama_, I.

Hence, when Humayun proceeded on the conquest of Qandhar and Kabul, a nucleus of Irani nobles had already been formed. However after the conquest of Qandhar, many of the old nobles of Humayun rejoined his service. A list of nobles provided by Bayazid who accompanied Humayun on the conquest of Kabul gives the names of several old nobles.[1] But the old nobles remained wavering in their loyalty, and, if Abul Fazl is to be believed, they indulged in intrigues 'with the evil idea that thereby their own greatness and affluence would be increased'.[2] In these circumstances, the old Turani nobility disappeared from the political scene and the Irani nobles were able to further improve their position. During the same period a number of Persians came to Kabul and entered Humayun's service.[3] Iranis were also appointed to important central offices, such as Diwan, Wazir, Mir Saman, Musharif-i Diwan etc. in the period between 1545-55 when Humayun was in Kabul.[4]

Apart from the increased power of the Irani nobility during this period,[5] another aspect to notice is the rise of a new Turani nobility,

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1. Tazkira-i Humayun, 52-55.

2. Akbarnama, I, 267. For a detailed discussion on the role of old nobles, see Iqtidar Alam, Mirza Kamran: A Biographical Study, 64, and Life of Munim Khan, 8-11.

3. Bayazid refers to the arrival of Mir Sayyid Ali, Mulla Abdus Samad, Mulla Dost, Mulla Fakhr Mujjalid, Shaikh Qasim Astrabadi and his brothers etc. when Humayun reached Kabul after the conquest of Qandhar. Cf. Tazkira-i Humayun, 65-67.

4. Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani Element in Akbar's Nobility', Indian History Congress, 1975.

5. For a detailed discussion on this aspect, see Ibid.

which Humayun actually raised to strengthen his position vis-a-vis the old nobility.[1] An analysis of the list of nobles given by Abul Fazl and Bayazid Bayat who accompanied Humayun on the conquest of India further indicates the presence of Irani nobles in substantial number. Abul Fazl's list contains in all fifty seven nobles. Out of these twenty seven were Turani and twenty one Irani, while nine of them cannot be identified. The Iranis included Bairam Khan, Afzal Khan Mir Bakhshi, Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi, Khwaja Abdul Majid Diwan, Khwaja Ataullah Diwan-i Baytat, Mir Shahabuddin Mir Saman, Khwaja Abul Qasim, Mirza Nijat and Mir Hasan who were all important nobles as is indicated by the offices they held.[2]

The list of nobles provided by Bayazid is more comprehensive. It includes even the menial servants and personal servants of the nobles. It gives the list under three heads; nobles under Humayun, servants of Prince Akbar and servants of Bairam Khan. A close scrutiny of the list also shows that important offices were filled by Irani nobles.[3]

After the reconquest, Humayun, realising the importance of including local elements in the ruling class, made a beginning by entering into a matrimonial alliance with Hasan Khan the Mewati chief.[4] But further

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1. For more details, see Life of Munim Khan, 8-11.

2. Akbarnama, I, 342. For a detailed study on the subject, see Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani Elements in Akbar's Nobility', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 1975. For a different view on the same problem also see Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility under Akbar, and the Development of his Religious Policy 1560-80', JRAS, 1968.

3. Tazkira-i Humayun, 176-87. Also see, Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani Elements in Akbar's Nobility'. Indian History Congress, 1975.

4. Akbarnama, I

efforts in this direction were cut short by his sudden death. A breakthrough in this direction was made by Akbar only.

Emperor's Relations with the Nobility:

Before the conquest of India Babur was hardly in a position to create a nobility fully disciplined and subservient to him.[1] The territory under him control was small and not very productive and naturally in these circumstances it was not possible for him to attract and retain a stable nobility. The nobles who remained with him were treated as associates. The situation became more complicated because of the presence of a large number of close relations and members of important Chaghtai tribes.[2] Certain customary rules designated Tura-i Chengezi were closely

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1. One of Babur's begs is reported to have set up himself upon royal footing starting reception and public table and a court and workshop after the fashion of Sultans. Another of his begs had kettledrum beaten at his own gate, notwithstanding his acknowledging Babur as Padshah.
   Cf. Baburnama, 119, 249-50, 272.

   Also see, Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Turko Mongol Theory of Kingship', Medieval India - A Miscellany, II.

2. Cf. The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty, 50-51; Akbarnama, I, 65. Hence, Iqtidar Alam Khan states, 'If all the nobles serving under Babur who traced their ancestry to Bukhu Khataji, Bukhatu Salji and Boduanchar (figures whose birth was attributed to supernatural inspiration) are taken into account, it would appear that a vast majority of his nobles would be claiming a special status by virtue of their birth'.

   Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Turko Mongol Theory of Kingship', Medieval India - A Miscellany, II, 15-16.

   See also list of Babur's nobles, Appendix 'A'.

followed.[1] In these circumstances the position of the King remained very weak, and he could not control the ruling class very effectively. Although Babur accepted this position in Afghanistan, he was apparently averse to this kind of relationship between the ruler and his nobility. When he started on his expedition to Northern India he raised 'small men of little standing' to the status of Begs, to keep them effectively in his control. But he was in for a disappointment. His own observations in this connection are worth quoting: 'When I set out from Kabul this last time I had raised many of low rank to the dignity of Beg, in the expectation, that if I had chosen to go through fire and water, they would have back and forward without hesitation; and that they would have accompanied me cheerfully, marched where I would. It never surely entered my imagination that they were to be the persons who were to arraign my measures, nor that before raising from the council, they should be a determined opposition to every plan and opinion which I proposed and supported in the council and assembly'.[2] It also appears that the admission of large number of

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1. In his memors Babur writes 'My forefathers and family had always sacredly observed the rules of Changez. In their parties, their courts, their festivals and their entertainments, in their sitting down and rising up, they never acted contrary to the Tura -i Changez. The Tura-i Chengezi certainly possessed no divine authority, so that any one should be obliged to conform to them, every one who has good rule of conduct ought to observe it. If the father has done what is wrong, the son ought to change it for what is right.' (Memoirs, tr. John Leyden & William Erskin, p.7).

2. Baburnama (tr. Leyden and Erskin), p.248. Beveridge's translation (p.524) is defective.

Indian nobles, assigning them large areas in *jagir*, might also have been done to Babur's desire to strengthen his position *vis-a-vis* the older nobility. But his attempts could not succeed, because the Indian nobility which comprised largely of the former Afghan commanders, could not be completely relied upon, since the Afghan resistance continued. In these circumstances he had to fall back upon the old Chaghtai nobility; apparently the new Chaghtai nobility also did side with the old.[1] However, during Babur's reign the nobles remained largely faithful to him.

After his death the problems of nobility assumed new dimensions. The nobles asserted their claim that 'the Empire belonged not to the ruler but to the ruling family',[2] and allegedly conspired to enthrone Mahdi Khwaja setting aside the claims of Humayun.[3] Although the conspiracy did not succeed, Humayun had constantly to face consequences of the presumption of the nobility. There were frequent rebellions of his nobles and Mirza Kamran's autonomous control over Afghanistan and the attitude of Askari and Hindal further contributed to the disruption of Humayun's control over his nobility.

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1. See supra.

2. Barthold, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Winsinik & co., Leyden 1913, Vol. I, 861. The author of *Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*, says that all those who claimed descent from Chenges Khan would be in the royal family. Cf. *The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*, tr. Wei Kwei Sun, Aligarh, 164-65. Also see Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Turko Mongol Theory of Kingship', *Medieval India - A Miscellany*, II, 15-16.

3. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, 28-29.

After his defeat at Chausa and Qanauj, a large nu,ber of his nobles joined Kamran. During his march into Sind and subsequent flight to Persia, with the exception of few high nobles, only low ranking nobles remained with him.[1] When he returned from Persia after the conquest of Qandhar once again a large number of his old Turani nobles who had joined Kamran came over to him.[2] These nobles retained shifting loyalties.[3] But during his struggle with Mirza Kamran for control over Kabul between 1545 and 1555, Humayun was able to develop a nobility completely loyal to himself. In doing do, as we have already explained, he promoted low ranking Turani nobles and admitted a number of Persians and used them as a bullwork against the old Turani nobles.

The new nobility served him loyally throughout his contest with Mirza Kamran and followed him on the conquest of India. In recognition of their services all important assignments were given to this section of nobility.[4]

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1. See Appendix 'B', list of nobles who accompanied Humayun to Persia.

2. Tazkira-i Humayun, 60; Akbarnama, I, 248. Also see, Iqtidar Alam Khan Life of Munim Khan, 8, and Mirza Kamran, 31-33.

3. For the incidents of old nobles' treacherous role, see Bayazid, 84-86, 126-131; Akbarnama, I, 245, 251, 254, 267, 272, 275, 293-97, 305-306. For details see Iqtidar Alam Khan, Life of Munim Khan, 9-10, and Mirza Kamran, 34-38.

4. See chapters on 'The Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman' and 'The Family of Bairam Khan'.

Although by raising Iranis and low ranking Turanis to higher ranks, Humayun was able to create a ruling class loyal to the king and was successful in reconquering Hindustan, the dominant sections among them were still confined to a limited number of clan-cum-family groups.[1] These clan groups were, as appeared in the reign of Akbar, against centralisation of authority. When Humayun died he was engaged in the process of conquest and consolidation. Hence he never faced the problem of re-emerging of clan groups of nobles with their extensive tribal loyalties and opposed to the concentration of power in the hands of a single sovereign.

The above discussion on the nobility of Babur and Humayun shows that the Mughal ruling class was far from being a disciplined and effective organisation to cope with the multifarious problems facing the newly established Empire in India. The attempts made by Babur and Humayun for undertaking some changes in its composition to improve its working and making it loyal and subservient to the crown were not fully successful. The most apparent reason seemed to be the presence of powerful clan and family groups of nobles with their roots in Central Asian traditions. To break their power, some fundamental changes were required in the administrative structure, but that needed sufficient time and peace and tranquillity in the Empire. But neither Babur nor Humayun were able to enjoy these advantages.

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1. See chapter on 'The Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman'.
Also see Appendix 'A', list of nobles who accompanied Humayun on the conquest of Hindustan.

Akbar therefore inherited the same clan and family based nobility. During the early years of his reign, he was able to get first hand knowledge of the working of the nobility, and came to the conclusion that for the establishment, consolidation and expansion of the Empire, he must have a ruling class that should owe every thing to the ruler; clan or family loyalties should not come in the way to their obedience to the sovereign. The future developments that took place under Akbar and Jahangir, were directed towards this object. Akbar enlarged his nobility by admitting local elements (mostly local chiefs) and foreign immigrants who belonged to prominent families in their own countries (Iran and Central Asia) and came in search of employment. These new comers and a number of his own personal servants who were already in service in minor capacities were given all important appointments. Besides, he also introduced important administrative reforms to curb the growth of clannish tendencies in the nobility. However, as there was no scientific method of recruitment of the nobility, the whole clan of a local chief, the families of his personal servants and the families of foreign immigrants used to be admitted into service. No doubt though in due course of time clan group of nobles and clannish tendencies ceased to be an important force, certain new clans and family groups by virtue of their devoted service to the Emperor came to enjoy a special status at the court.

However, the problem of a disobedient nobility was solved, and an efficient and loyal bureaucracy was built up. But as Akbar failed to provide any solution to the problem of succession, the nobility tended to divide into factions supporting rival princes. This may be noticed in the reign of Akbar and more clearly during Jahangir's reign. The accession crisis at the time of Akbar's serious illness showed the anxiety among the nobles about their future careers, forcing them to take important decision about imperial succession on their own. Important Akbarshahi nobles were apparently not sure whether they would be able to maintain their prominent position in the event of the succession of Salim (Jahangir) and so they decided to raise to the throne a prince of their choice.

Although the conspiracy failed and Jahangir pardoned the erring Akbarshahi nobles, he could not place absolute reliance on them. Therefore, he raised a new nobility to counter the old nobility and gave them extraordinary promotions. This naturally created rivalry and suspicions between Akbarshahi and Jahangiri nobles. Later on, the reaction to the rise of the family of Nur Jahan the rivalry among princes, groups of nobles, all shook the stability of the Empire during Jahangir's later years.

These are some important aspects of the nobility under Akbar and Jahangir that we have covered in the present study, of the career of

the nine leading families of nobles. For making the study more comprehensive, we have chosen at least one family from each of the important racial group present in the nobility viz. the Turani, the Irani, Rajputs, Indian Muslims and Afghans.

We have provided family charts and several lists of nobles of important phases for the reign of Akbar and Jahangir in an Appendix to trace the varying fortunes of different groups within the nobility.

Chapter I

THE FAMILY OF BAIRAM KHAN, KHAN KHANAN

The family of Bairam Khan was one of the earliest and important family groups of nobles of Akbar's reign. The family continued to enjoy an important position after Akbar, during the reign of Jahangir. Bairam Khan's ancestors had served Timurid rulers; and his father, Saif 'Ali, was in the service of Babur. After the death of his father, Bairam Khan was confirmed in the position of his father and from then onwards he remained in the service of the Mughals till his dismissal. Thus Bairam Khan served under three Mughal rulers, viz., Babur, Humayun and Akbar. Indeed Bairam Khan and his adherents played an important role in re-establishing Mughal Empire in India. After the accession of Akbar, Bairam Khan enjoyed for five years a unique position at the Court. The family suffered an eclipse upon his dismissal; but his son, Abdur Rahim was able to revive its fortunes and obtained a high status under Akbar and Jahangir. In what follows an attempt is made to trace the history of this family, with particular reference to the position of its members (in terms of posts, mansabs, etc.) during the three distinct phases: under Bairam Khan; the phase following Bairam Khan's dismissal; and under Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

Bairam Khan belonged to the Baharlu clan of the Qaraqunlu Turks and was the fifth in descent from Ali Shukr Beg,[1] a prominent noble of Mirza Jahan Shah (1437-67) the ruler of Azarbaijan, Faras, Kirman and the coast of Oman under the hegemony of Qaraqunlu. Ali Shukr Beg ruled as a feudatory chief over the territories of Hamdan, Dinwar, Khurdistan and its dependencies.[2] Pir Ali Beg, the son of Ali Shukr Beg, after the defeat and death of his father at the hands of Usun Hasan the Aq-quyanlu chief, joined the services of Sultan Abu Said and after the death of the Sultan entered the service of Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Abu Said of Herat. Later on he joined Sultan Abu Bakr of Faras but being defeated by Aq-quyanlu army at Garmsir he fled towards Khurasan where he was again defeated and killed by Sultan Husain Mirza of Herat.[3] His eldest son Yar Ali Beg escaped to Sultan Mahmud in Badakhshan and, after his death, to Khusrau Shah, the Mongol chief of Qunduz. After Khusrau Shah's defeat and downfall in 1504-05, Yar Ali Beg's son Saif Ali entered the service

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1. Muntakhab, I, 190-91, Badauni has given a brief biography of Bairam Khan. Z.K., I, 11-19. A detailed biography of Bairam Khan is provided by Farid Bhakkari without however discussing his ancestry. Madan-i Akhbar, 171b-172ab and Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 57-9 gives details of his ancestry and early life.

2. Haft Iqlim, II, 51-4 Amin Ahmad Razi states that till his (Ali Shukr Beg's) time these territories were known as territories of Ali Shukr (Qalamrau-i Ali Shukr). Ali Shukr Beg established himself as independent ruler with Hamdan as his capital after the defeat and death of Mirza Jahan Shah at the hands of Aq-quyanlu chief Usun Hasan in the battle of Azarbaijan in 1473.

3. Baburnama (tr. Beveridge) 49, Madan-i Akhbar, 171b, Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 65-66.

of Babur.[1] The author of Madan-i Akhbar-i Ahmadi, writes that after the conquest of Ghaznin, Babur granted it to Saif Ali.[2] After his death his son Bairam Khan was confirmed in the governorship of Ghaznin.[3]

Bairam Khan was son of Saif Ali and was born in Badakhshan. His father died when he was very young. He was brought up under the care of Pasha Begum, the sister of his grandfather and by Amir Beg, his maternal uncle.[4] At the age of sixteen years he joined Babur's services.

Being prominent and influential among the Turks, Ali Shukr Beg's son Pir Ali Beg was married to the daughter of Mirza Iskandar. Mirza Jahan Shah also married his two sons to the two daughters of Ali Shukr Beg. The Timurid ruler Sultan Abu Said married his son Sultan Mahmud to another daughter of Ali Shukr Beg. Later, Sultan Mahmud's daughter by Pasha Begum was married to Babur.[5] On the basis of these marriages Bairam Khan could claim relationship with the Timurids. A very significant marriage too was that of Saif Ali Beg 'in the family of Naqshbandi Khwajas'. The Naqshbandi family was kept in very high esteem

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1. Madan-i Akhbar, 171b, writes that while Saif Ali Beg was serving Khusram Shah at Qandhar, Babur visited the place, Saif Ali Beg along with his son Bairam Khan joined his service. See also Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 64.

2. Ibid., 172a, Ghaznin was conquered in 1504.

3. Ibid.

4. Madan-i Akhbar, f.172b. Pasha Begum was married to Sultan Mahmud.

5. Baburnama (Beveridge), 48-49. Mirza Iskandar was Qaraqunlu chief between 1429-37 A.D.

by the Timurids and a number of marriages took place between the two houses in Central Asia and after that in Hindustan. Muhammad Nuruddin, son of Khwaja Hasan, was married to Gulbarg Begum; and Salima Sultana Begum was their daughter.[1] These marriages took place in Central Asia. It was in the context of these previous marriages that Humayun had apparently promised to marry Salima Sultana to Bairam Khan. This marriage was actually solemnised during Akbar's third regnal year. This marriage and the previous one with Muhammad Nuruddin are both strongly criticised by Abul Fazl.[2] However, during Akbar's reign this family became acceptable to the Chaghtais if not to the royal house; we notice for example the marriage of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan with the sister of Mirza Aziz Koka.[3] But this trend seems to have discontinued in the latter years of Akbar and during the reign of Jahangir. Most of the marriages contracted by members of Bairam Khan's family thereafter were with women of Irani families. The family thus came to be allied with the families of the Safavid princes of Qandhar, of Itimaduddaulah and the Injus. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan had also taken a wife from the Muslim Rajput tribes of the Sondhas of Amarkot. Later on, he married his son Mirza Iraj to the daughter of Jani Beg of Thatta after the conquest of Sind. (This was the

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1. Akbarnama, II, 64-65, Madasir-i Akhbar, 162b-6ab. The author provides more details regarding marriages of Bairam Khan's family with that of the Mirzas.

2. Akbarnama, II, 64-65.

3. Muntakhab, II, 360-61, Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 51.

last marriage-alliance with Turanis). One of his other sons was married to the daughter of Nizam Shah. Besides these marriages, Bairam Khan had already married a daughter of Jamal Khan Mewati one of whose daughters had been married to Emperor Humayun. These marriages clearly indicate that the pattern followed by this family was close to the one followed by the royal family in Akbar's reign, while it lapsed to that of a normal Irani noble family afterwards.[1]

It seems necessary to identify the important members of the family before going into other details. No attempt has been made so far to reconstruct a chart of Bairam Khan's family. Bayazid Bayat while giving list of nobles who accompanied Humayun from Iran has given names of six persons related to Bairam Khan. Except Wali Beg Zulqadar who was his brother-in-law and his two nephews, Husain Quli and Ismail Quli, we are unable to determine the nature of their relationship with him. These names are as follows: Bazmi Khan, Muhammad Beg and Shah Bardi Beg.[2] However, after the accession of Akbar these persons are not noticed in our sources. Later on Bairam Khan's son Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and his sons Shahnawaz Khan, Darab Khan, Mirza Rahman Dad and Mirza Amrullah were granted mansabs. The figures show that the numerical strength of the

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1. For a detailed discussion on the pattern of marriages among Mughal nobles, see, Afzal Husain, 'Marriages among Mughal Nobles as an Index of Status and Aristocratic Integration', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1972.

2. Tazkira-i Humayun, 185-87. Besides this Bayazid provides a list of the servants of Bairam Khan who accompanied him to India with Humayun.

family was not very large. But the family had the support of other sections of the nobility. We will see that during Bairam Khan's Regency, many of his personal servants were raised to a high position[1] and his friends, specially the Usbek nobles supported him to the last. Later on Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan seems to have enjoyed the cooperation of Indian Muslims and particularly of the Barha Sayyids and Lodi Afghans.

Upon joining Babur's service, Bairam Khan was attached to the retinue of Humayun. After the conquest of India by Babur, he accompanied Humayun to Kabul. The author of the _Ma'asir-i Rahimi_ writes that Babur had a very high opinion of him and placed him among his distinguished nobles. After the accession of Humayun he was raised to the office of _Muhardar_ and _Vakil_.[2] He is also said to have played an important role in the campaign against the Afghans, the siege of Chittor, the Gujarat and Bengal campaigns and the capture of the fort of Champaner.[3] The later chronicles are silent about his activities between 1536 and 1540. But he is again noticed in the ill-fated battle of Qanauj. After the defeat of the imperial armies he fled to Sambhal and got separated from Humayun for three years.[4]

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1. _Z.K._, I, 17, Farid Bhakkari writes that twenty five persons of lower ranks were promoted to the _mansab_ of 5000 by Bairam Khan. cf. _Akbarnama_, II, 107. Menial servants of Bairam Khan were raised to the status of _khans_ and _sultans_.

2. _Ma'asir-i Rahimi_, I, 64, _Z.K._, 11 adds that he was granted _mansab_ of 5000.

3. _Madan-i Akhbar_, 54b-55a, 172ab; _Akbarnama_, I, 185; _Tarikh-i Gujarat_, 23.

4. _Akbarnama_, I, 185-86; _Ma'asir-i Rahimi_, II, 12-13.

In 1543, fleeing from Afghan surveillance, he joined Humayun at Jhun in Sindh.[1] At this time the Mughal Emperor was in a wretched condition, and having lost hopes of relief from every quarter decided to retire to Mecca. Bairam Khan patched up a treaty with the Arghuns and persuaded Humayun to proceed towards Qandhar. But Mirza Askari defeated him at Mastang.[2] Seeing all roads closed on them, Bairam Khan induced Humayun to go to Iran and seek Persian help to recover his Empire in India. The author of the Ma'asir-i Rahimi has emphasised the role of Bairam Khan in the Persian journey; he writes that Bairam Khan wrote letters to his kinsmen and sent a petition to the Persian Emperor in this connection and received very favourable response.[3] This is, however, not corroborated by any earlier source. It is true, however, that when he was sent as Humayun's ambassador to the Persian court, he was favourably received and was referred to as Amir-i Muazzam in a Persian farman and accorded the title of Khan.[4]

In Humayun's recovery of Qandhar and Kabul, Bairam Khan played a very conspicuous role. After the conquest of Qandhar it was

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1. Akbarnama, I, 185-86; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, II, 12-13.

2. Tarikh-i Alfi, 418 ; Madan-i Akhbar, 173a.

3. Madan-i Akhbar, 66a; A.K., I, 11-12; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 575. Abul Baqa Nahavandi further states that Bairam Khan was offered government of Dayar Bakr in Azarbaijan which belonged to his ancestors Qara Yusuf and Mirza Jahan Shah. But he refused.

4. Taskira-i Humayun, 32, 34; Haft Iqlim,II,62-6; A.K., I, 11-12.

granted to him so as to placate the Emperor of Persia.[1] While Bairam Khan was at Qandhar, it was reported to Humayun that he was mediating rebellion. It was a period of frequent rebellions and defections of nobles; and Qandhar was the only safe place. Therefore, Humayun immediately rushed to Qandhar. But the suspicion was shown to be false. Humayun yet wanted to transfer him and appoint Munim Khan in his place. Munim Khan persuaded him to defer the move and requested that Bairam Khan be confirmed. Humayun finally agreed.[2]

When Humayun marched into Hindustan, Bairam Khan was summoned from Qandhar to accompany the Emperor. In the battles of Sarhind and Machhiwara, Bairam Khan rendered decisive service against the Afghans.[3] Abul Fazl acknowledges his services in these words, "the head of the faithful servants was Bairam Khan who throughout waited on the stirrup of His Majesty as if he were his good fortune".[4]

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1. Taskira-i Humayun, 51. But the nobles of Yadgar Nasir Mirza pleaded that Qandhar should be taken from Bairam Khan. Also see Akbarnama, I, 241, Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 600.

2. Taskira-i Humayun, 170-71. Bayazid further adds that Munim Khan knew it well that either the Qizilbashs would conquer Qandhar or Humayun would transfer it to Persian Emperor as he has already promised it. Therefore he did not want to stay there. By speaking in favour of Bairam Khan he achieved his good will and huge presents of horses and other valuables.

3. Taskira-i Humayun, 193-94; Akbarnama, I, 343-47; Tarikh-i Shahi, 336-37.

4. Akbarnama, I, 350.

After the conquest of India, Bairam Khan was appointed over Sarhind. There is no reference to any other administrative jurisdiction having been assigned to any of his family members. Soon afterwards he was appointed Ataliq (guardian) of Prince Akbar, in place of Munim Khan, and deputed along with the Prince to the Panjab to replace Shah Abul Mali, who was not discharging his duties faithfully. While Bairam Khan and the Prince were marching against Sikandar Afghan and had reached Kalanur, they received the news of the death of Humayun. Bairam Khan summoned all important nobles present in the camp in an assembly and crowned Akbar as Emperor.[1]

At the time of his accession Akbar was only fourteen years old. Being too young he was not in a position to take up in his own hands the reins of administration. In these circumstances, by virtue of being his Ataliq, Bairam Khan was appointed Vakil-us Saltanat. All the affairs of state and finances were made over to him. He used to sit in the Diwan-i Khana twice a week and attended to all civil and military affairs. Whatever decisions were taken up were represented to Emperor; and this was considered enough. Bairam Khan appointed and dismissed the highest officers of the state at his own discretion. He even interfered in the personal matters of the Emperor, and the Emperor could incur

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1. Tarikh-i Akbari, 25; Taskira-i Humayun, 195; Akbarnama, I, 351, 366 - 67.

personal expenditure only with his approval.[1]

The greatest problem before Bairam Khan was the Afghans; in the east, Hemu, the commander-in-chief of Adil Sur was threatening both Agra and Delhi and in the Panjab Sikandar Afghan could not be fully subdued, when he had proceeded towards Delhi. However, no serious challenge was posed to Bairam Khan's position as Vakil. Only Shah Abul Ma'ali a very senior Chaghtai noble showed some sign of rebellion, when he refused to attend the coronation ceremony of Akbar. He was imprisoned on the orders of Bairam Khan.[2]

In the meantime Tardi Beg Khan was defeated at Delhi and when the defeated commanders joined imperial standards at Sarhind, he was charged with treason and, on the evidence of Khan Zaman and others, was put to death. The execution was partly at least due to jealousy; Tardi Beg was considered by the Regent to be his rival.[3]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 5, 15, 57, 63-64, 70-71, Abul Fazl tells us that Bairam Khan opposed Akbar's marriage with the daughter of Abdullah Khan Mughal. Muntakhab, II, 8, 26-29, 36-39. Badauni at one place writes "... he (Akbar) had no voice in some of the transactions relating to the expenses of the Exchequer and because there was no privy purse at all, and the servants of the Emperor had poor fief, ". Z.K., I, 13. For detailed discussion on the powers of Vakil specially during Bairam Khan's tenure of office, see Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of Mughal Empire, pp.121-22.

2. Taskira-i Humayun, 195; Akbarnama, II, 15-16; Muntakhab, II, 9-11; Z.K., I, 77; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 642. cf. Iqtedar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal Court Politics During Bairam Khan's Regency', Medieval India - A Miscellany, I, 23.

3. Tarikh-i Akbari, 50; Akbarnama, II, 29-30. See also Iqtedar Alam Khan, 'Mughal Court Politics during Bairam Khan's Regency', 26-27, Medieval India - A Miscellany, I, 26-27.

After the battle of Panipat Bairam Khan rewarded and promoted chiefly his own servants and friends in the nobility. This helped him to raise an independent following of his own. He distributed all important areas of the Empire among his own supporters and proteges. Areas in Doab were assigned to Ali Quli Uzbek (*sarkar* of Sambhal and other *parganas* of Doab), Abdullah Khan Uzbek (*sarkar* of Kalpi), Sikandar Khan Uzbek (sent to Sialkot to assist Khizir Khwaja Khan in operations against Sikandar Sur) and Qiya Khan Gunj (Agra).[1] Sometimes later Ali Quli Khan's younger brother Bahadur Khan was appointed to Multan. Thus we see that by these appointments he was able to have complete control over whole areas that had been brought under Mughal rule at the moment.

At the centre, Bairam Khan himself enjoyed the position of a *de facto* ruler. Pir Mohammad Khan Sarwani a personal servant of his was attached to the person of the King in the capacity of the *Vakil* of the Regent and was a key figure in the administration.[2] Two old officers Khwaja Sultan Ali and Mir Asghar Munshi were dismissed. Khwaja Aminuddin was appointed *Bakhshi* and Shaikh Gadai Kamboh was appointed *Sadr*. Both these officers were the proteges of Bairam Khan.[3]

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1. For instance of cooperation between Bairam Khan and the Uzbeks see, *Akbarnama*, II, 45, 69, 82, 97, 105-106, 114; Badauni, II, 14. See also for more details, chapter on 'the Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman'.
2. *Akbarnama*, II, 45, 59; *Z.K.*, I, 101-103; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, 182-86.
3. *Muntakhab*, II, 14, Khwaja Sultan Ali, Mir Asghar Munshi were arrested by Bairam Khan because they were considered supporters of Tardi Beg. For Khwaja Aminuddin and Shaikh Gadai Kamboh see *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, I, 630, II, 29; *Akbarnama*, II, 96.

Thus we see that Bairam Khan and his group of nobles came to control the entire machinery of the state at the centre as well as in the provinces. But at the same time it is significant that his own relations received neither any office at the centre nor any appointment in the provinces. No reason for this can be traced in our evidence. Yet it was alleged that his relations exercised much influence in the affairs of the state.[1] Wali Beg Zulqadar and his sons Husain Quli and Ismail Quli along with some other nobles were specially mentioned. It was also alleged that these nobles were actually responsible for creating the crisis that arose later and brought about the downfall of Bairam Khan.[2]

The concentration of all authority in the hands of one group of nobles was naturally resented by other groups of nobles. Prominent among the opponents were Adham Khan; his mother, Maham Anaga; Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan and other members of the Atka Khail. Not only were they resentful of being denied their due share in power, but they had other complaints as well. They were assigned poor jagirs, often in distant and hostile regions. For example, Adham Khan was assigned jagir in Hathkanth

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1. Akbarnama, II, 93. 'Things became beyond bounds, on account of ill-fated maladroit flatterers such as Wali Beg Zulqadar and Shaikh Gadai Kamboh'. (tr. pp. 140-41). Farman of Jalaluddin Akbar to Bairam Khan, Akbarnama, II, 107 'He himself knows what was the position and rank of Wali Beg among Qizilbashes, without considering his service, his lineage or his position, and mainly on account of relationship viz. his being his (Bairam Khan's) brother in law, he brought him and put him over the great officers...... He gave Husain Quli who has not even fought with a chicken, equal position with Iskandar Khan, Abdullah Khan and Bahadur Khan and gave him cultivated fiefs, while he satisfied the great khans with waste land'. (tr. 163).

2. Ibid.

near Agra which was inhabited by rebellious Rajputs, while Atka Khan was given *jagir* of Bhera in the Panjab. Akbar accused Bairam Khan of disregarding claims of old and loyal nobles.[1] Certain incidents took place in which Bairam Khan mainly suspected Atka Khan, Adham Khan, Maham Anaga and others. One of these incidents was an attempt on his life (July 1557). Bairam Khan was greatly enraged and Atka Khan along with his whole family had to take an oath that Atka Khan was not involved in the incident. Maham Anaga also sought to reassure him.[2] But on account of continuous pressure from the nobility, Bairam Khan agreed to consult with the prominent nobles of the Court. It was agreed that he would meet the prominent nobles twice every week to discuss the political and financial matters before submitting it to the king.[3]

To worsen his position further, disagreement arose among his own proteges. There arose a quarrel between Maulana Pir Muhammad Sarwani

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1. Akbarnama, II, farman of Akbar, 106-07. "To his own menial servants.... he gave the titles of Sultan and Khan and presented them with... rich fief and productive territories, whilst he with total want of considerations made the Khans, the Princes, the officers, and the trusted servants of H.M. Jannat Ashiyani whose rank, claims and qualifications are known to everyone to be in want of dry bread. Nay he aimed at the life and honour of all of them and he took no thought for old servants and domestics.... and did not provide them with even the smallest offices which might have been a means of livelihood to them". See also Akbarnama, II, 78, while granting *jagir* of Hathkanth Bairam Khan thought then 'in this way he (Adham Khan) might be removed from court, while at the same time rebels of that quarter would receive punishment and thus two good objects be carried out at once'. For Adham Khan, see Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 67. See also chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

2. Akbarnama, II, 60, 62. For details see, chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

3. Akbarnama, II, 67. Also see, Iqtedar Alam Khan 'The Mughal Court Politics during Bairam Khan's Regency', Medieval India, A Miscellany, I, 32-33.

and Shaikh Gadai. Bairam Khan sided with Shaikh Gadai. Pir Muhammad sarwani felt it greatly and did not come to the court for several days.[1] On the other hand, Ali Quli was involved in a scandal with a boy which was exploited by the group working against Bairam Khan, and Pir Muhammad took the initiative on their behalf. Ali Quli was punished and Bairam Khan could not protect him.[2] Therefore, to retrieve this situation, Bairam Khan took action. In the second half of 1559 he dismissed Pir Muhammad and appointed Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani as his personal Vakil. Some low ranking officers were raised to high positions. Shaikh Gadai was given some more responsibility in political and financial affairs, in addition to his functions as Sadr.[3] Thus once again Bairam Khan was able to assert his position.

Although for a time he was able to strengthen his position, the reaction against the undue power enjoyed by him and his group of nobles

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1. Akbarnama, II, 66.

2. Ibid., 82. Ali Quli's jagir of Lucknow was confiscated and given to Jalairs. Later on, when he sent his agent Burji Ali to the Court to attempt reconciliation, on the orders of Pir Muhammad Khan, he was thrown from the palace top and succumbed to his injuries. For more details about Ali Quli in this affair, see chapter on 'The Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman'.

3. Akbarnama, II, 86-87, A.K., I, 17, states that some twenty five persons of lower ranks were promoted to the rank of 5000 under Bairam Khan. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 540, Shaikh Gadai used to put his seal on the back of court orders. cf. Akbarnama, II, 107.

created bad blood among a large section of the nobility. Adham Khan, Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, Mirza Sharafuddin Husain, Atka Khan and Maham Anaga, being close to the Emperor exploited the situation and the Emperor was made an accomplice in the conspiracy. Akbar himself was now tired of the bonds of tutelege, and the nobles convinced him that unless Bairam Khan was removed the Emperor would not be in a position to command real power.[1]

A plan was worked out and in accordance with the plan Akbar together with Maham Anaga and Adham Khan left Agra on a hunting expedition and reached Delhi where Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan welcomed him.[2] From Delhi at the suggestion of Maham Anaga and her colleagues, Akbar issued two

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1. Muntakhab, II, 35-37, Badauni specifically mentions Adham Khan, Maham Anaga and Sadiq Muhammad Khan who often spoke to the Emperor against Bairam Khan. Akbarnama, II, 93-94 indicates that in the conspiracy against Bairam Khan, Akbar himself took the initiative and conveyed his intentions to Adham Khan, Maham Anaga and Sharafuddin Husain. Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan was informed about the plot by Maham Anaga. Badauni also at some other place mentions that Akbar was unhappy with the state of affairs (Muntakhab, II, 36). Arif Qandhari believes that Bairam Khan's main fault was giving undue favour to a section of the nobles at the cost of old nobles who were in the service of Mughals since a very long time. These nobles even during this period were on intimate terms with the emperor. Tarikh-i Akbari, 57-58.

2. Akbarnama, II, 94-95, Muntakhab, II, 36-37, Tabaqat, II, 142-44, however suggest that though Adham Khan, Maham Anaga and some other nobles were creating misunderstanding between Bairam Khan and Akbar, there was no premeditated plan. It was only by chance that when Akbar left Agra, Maham Anaga persuaded him to go to Delhi to see his mother Maryam Makani who was sick. After reaching Delhi they persuaded him to dismiss Bairam Khan.

farmans to Bairam Khan dismissing him from office. He was also ordered to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca.[1] Bairam Khan accepted the orders and sent to the Emperor his banner, kettle drums and all insignia of rank.[2] Although Bairam Khan surrendered his office, yet his own clansmen and allies, specially Wali Beg Zulqadar and Shaikh Gadai Kamboh wanted to take military action for retrieving his fortunes.[3] Upon the appointment of Pir Muhammad Sarwani with a body of troops against him, Bairam Khan's bitterness and despair were aroused.[4] He gave up the idea of pilgrimage and moved into the Punjab to punish those nobles who had brought about his downfall. But his desperate plan did not meet with success and he was defeated by Shamsuddin Atka and took shelter in the Siwaliks.[5] Being hard pressed he sued for forgiveness, which was granted. However, he

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1. *Akbarnama*, I., 95-96; *Tarikh-i Alafi*, 600ab; *Muntakhab*, I, 35-39.

2. *Akbarnama*, II, 95-99.

3. *Muntakhab*, II, 37-38. Badauni writes that when Bairam Khan came to know of these states of affairs, he called a council of his nobles. The advice of Shaikh Gadai with several others was this that 'before the balance of fortune should be turned against him, he should set out and get Emperor into his power'. Abul Fazl also mentions that Shaikh Gadai and Wali Beg Zulqadar wanted military action. cf. *Akbarnama*, II, 96-97; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, 600b-601a.

4. *Tabaqat*, II, 146; *Muntakhab*, II, 39-40.

5. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, 601a-602ab; *Akbarnama*, II, 103-06; *Tabaqat*, II, 146-50; *Muntakhab*, II, 38-41. Also see 'The Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman' and 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

refused to come to the Court unless Munim Khan took surety for his safety.[1] This being conceded he accompanied Munim Khan to the court. At his own wish he was permitted to proceed to Mecca.[2] He was not however destined to reach the Holy city. He was murdered at Pattam by some Afghans.[3]

II

With the removal of Bairam Khan from the office of Vakil and his subsequent murder, the prestige of his family naturally declined rapidly. Members of the family were arrested after the defeat and surrender of Bairam Khan.[4] The nobles who had associated with the family in the life-time of Bairam Khan now deserted it.[5] Even the Uzbek nobles who were greatly favoured by him remained neutral during the entire crisis.[6]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 117-18, Bairam Khan was apprehensive of Chaghtai grandees and other imperial servants.
2. Ibid., Tabaqat, II, 149-50.
3. Ibid.
4. Akbarnama, II, 110-13, Husain Quli was arrested when he went to court along with the insignia of office of Bairam Khan. Iskandar Sultan, Ismail Quli and Ahmad Beg were arrested after the defeat of Bairam Khan.
5. Qiya Khan Ganj, Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani, Tarsun Muhammad Khan may be noted among many such nobles who deserted Bairam Khan soon after the news of his downfall became known.
6. For the role of Uzbek nobility, see chapter on the Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman.

Bairam Khan was accused of rebellion and the responsibility for inciting him was placed on Wali Beg Zulqadar, his sons and other relations. And yet members of Bairam Khan's family were not treated harshly after his downfall.[1] They were soon released and their offences were pardoned. They were also given fresh assignments. Thus it can be inferred that Akbar was not personally hostile to the family. What he wanted was to get out of the tutelage of the Regent.

The numerical strength of the group suffered a great setback during this period. Bairam Khan and Wali Beg Zulqadar were dead; and many other supporters of the family were also either killed in battle or joined the imperial forces. Ismail Quli, Husain Quli, Ahmad Beg and Yaqub Beg were the only noted members of the family left. Mirza Abdur Rahim son of Bairam Khan was very young. Husain Quli who later on was given the title of Khan-i Jahan was the seniormost member of the family.

The first appointment from amongst this family during this period was in the region of Ajmer and Nagor. Mirza Sharafuddin Husain was holding this area in _jagir_ had rebelled and fled from the court. The Emperor assigned the area to Husain Quli and ordered him to chastise

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1. _Tarikh-i Alfi_, 600b; _Akbarnama_, II, 97-98. After being arrested when Husain Quli was given to the charge of Adham Khan, Akbar was reported to have said 'he would be held responsible if any injury happened to Husain Quli'. cf. _Akbarnama_, II, 111.

the rebel.[1] When Sharafuddin Husain came to know of Husain Quli's approach, he left Tarkhan Diwana to protect Ajmer and himself fled towards Nagor. The imperial armies captured Ajmer and proceeded towards Jalor in pursuit of the Mirza. The Mirza finding himself incapable of further resistance left the imperial dominions.[2] At Sirohi he was joined by Shah Abul Ma'ali who had recently returned from Mecca.[3] Both of them agreed upon a joint effort against the Emperor.[4] As per agreement Shah Abul Ma'ali proceeded to Hajipur (near Alwar) to attack the family of Husain Quli which was lodged there, and thence proceeded to Kabul to incite Mirza Hakim to invade Hindustan. A very grave situation was created by the rebels. Husain Quli faced the situation with great determination and despatched Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg to defend the fort of Hajipur. Shah Abul Ma'ali changed his route and proceeded to Narnol. He captured the fort, arrested its commandant and seized all treasures. But soon afterwards, he was forced to flee towards the Panjab pursued by the imperial troops under Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg. In one of the battles fought between Abul Ma'ali and the imperial armies, Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg were killed, but Shah Abul Ma'ali's troops also suffered heavy casualties, and he fled to Kabul.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 195-96; Madan-i Akhbar, 216ab; Muntakhab, II, 59.
2. Ibid.
3. Taskira-i Humayun, 277-78; Akbarnama, II, 198; Tabaqat, II, 164-65.
4. Akbarnama, II, 198-99. Cf. Muntakhab, II, 59-60.
5. Tarikh-i Alfi, 610ab; Taskira-i Humayun, 277-78; Akbarnama, II, 198-99.

After making arrangements for the security of Ajmer, Husain Quli marched against Merta. The fort was surrendered to the imperial army, but it was again assigned to its previous possessor, Jaimal, upon orders of the Emperor.[1] The territories recovered by Husain Quli, and previously held by Mirza Sharafuddin were conferred upon him.[2]

While he was in Ajmer, he was ordered to undertake an expedition against Jodhpur. After prolonged fighting the fort was captured. Husain Quli marched ahead and occupied Pali. Chandra Sen, the Rathor ruler, was forced to flee towards Bhadrajun, while the Sangra chief of Pali retired towards Mewar.[3]

On October 1567 Akbar marched against Chittor. Husain Quli who was holding charge of Ajmer and Nagor was summoned to join the campaign. He invaded Udaipur and Kumbhalmir hoping to capture the Rana, but the Rana escaped. However, he ruthlessly devastated the country and immense booty fell into his hands.[4]

In the year 1568, the Atka Khail was transferred from the Panjab; and Husain Quli along with his brother Ismail Quli was transferred

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1. Akbarnama, II, 196.

2. Ibid.; Madasir-i Akhbar, 216ab.

3. Ibid., 197; Pargana ri Vigat, I, 68; Banki Das ri Vigat, 202-04.

4. Ibid., 313, III, 15, 58; Tabaqat, II, 217-20; Muntakhab, II, 102-05; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 646-47. The fort of Chittor was captured on October 1567.

from Ajmer and Nagor to the Panjab, Husain Quli being made its Governor.[1] But in the meantime, he was ordered to join in the expedition against Ranthambhor. At the request of Rai Surjan (who "in order that his honour might be preserved begged that one of the intimate courtiers might come and introduce him to the court") the Emperor sent Husain Quli into the fort to reassure Rai Surjan and bring him to the Imperial presence to render homage.[2] Afterwards Husain Quli and Ismail Quli were permitted to proceed to the Panjab.

The appointment of Husain Quli and his family in the Panjab and the transfer of Atka Khail is quite significant for various reasons. We are aware of the power and prestige enjoyed by the Atkas. It appears that their concentration in one province especially in the Panjab for a very long time was seen as a source of danger.[3] On the other hand Akbar apparently had great confidence in Husain Quli and his group, though it did not enjoy much support in the nobility.

During Husain Quli's governorship of Panjab, two important problems were faced by the Governor: the Nagarkot campaign and the rebellion of Ibrahim Husain Mirza.

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1. Akbarnama, II, 332-33; Tabaqat, II, 223.

2. Akbarnama, II, 333, 336-38; Tabaqat, II, 223; Ma'asir-i Akhbar, 246a, 248b.

3. For more details regarding Atka Khail and the nature of their transfer, see Chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

Raja Jaichand of Nagarkot had incurred the displeasure of Akbar on some account. He was summoned to the court and after reaching there, was arrested. His holdings were confiscated and Husain Quli was ordered to capture and grant it to Raja Bir Bal. Raja Jaichand's son Govind Das received a false report that his father had been killed, and he accordingly rebelled.[1] Husain Quli invaded Nagarkot and laid siege to the fort of Nagarkot. The siege lasted several months. While the siege operations were in progress and the surrender of the fort seemed imminent, it was reported from Lahore that Ibrahim Husain Mirza and other rebels had reached Lahore from Gujarat and were creating trouble. The situation was naturally serious. Accordingly Husain Quli convened a meeting of the important nobles in the camp. There was a sharp division ofopinion; the Governor and his associates favoured decisive action against Nagarkot first and after that against the rebel Mirzas. But the other group led by Muhibb Ali Khan, Mirza Yusuf Khan and Khurram Khan proposed a settlement with the besieged and withdrawal for immediate action against the rebels at Lahore. It appears that the opposite group was more numerous and Husain Quli had to accept their opinion, but on the condition that they would own the responsibility for this decision in writing so as to absolve him of any risk of personal responsibility in case the Emperor did not approve of the

1. Akbarnama, II, 370; Tabaqat, II, 256-57; Muntakhab, II, 161-62.

treaty. The officers agreed, and the treaty was signed.[1]

This episode brings into sharp focus the inherent weakness of Husain Quli's position. Though Husain Quli held the charge of the _suba_ of Panjab, he could not take a decision without consulting other nobles who were appointed to help him, and his own opinion could be turned down by his colleagues.

Freed from the Nagarkot campaign, Husain Quli came back to Lahore to deal with the Mirzas. On the approach of the royal forces the rebel Mirzas fled towards Multan. Husain Quli pursued them through the Panjab and overtook them at Talamba. Ibrahim Husain Mirza succeeded in escaping to Multan; but Masud Mirza was captured.[2]

In 1573, Husain Quli visited the court. He presented Masud Mirza before the Emperor. In recognition of his meritorious service, he was granted the title of Khan-i Jahan. The government of Lahore and the whole of Panjab was re-entrusted to him. He was also favoured with an increase of allowances and _jagir_.[3] Raja Todar Mal was deputed along with

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1. _Akbarnama_, III, 36-37. However, Badauni gives a different version. He believes that the news of the arrival of Ibrahim Husain Mirza and the sufferings of the army of Husain Quli were responsible for the treaty. cf. _Muntakhab_, II, 162-63; _Tabaqat_, II, 256-59. For details of the terms of the treaty, see _Akbarnama_, III, 36-37.

2. _Tarikh-i Akbari_, 163; _Akbarnama_, III, 37-38; _Muntakhab_, II, 163; _Tabaqat_, II, 259.

3. _Akbarnama_, III, 39-40; _Tabaqat_, II, 260.

him to attend to the affairs of the _amirs_ posted in the Panjab.[1]

During his tenure of office in the Panjab, Mirza Sulaiman having been expelled from his native country took refuge at the court of Akbar. The Emperor ordered Husain Quli to proceed to Badakhshan and help Mirza Sulaiman to get back his crown.[2] But in the meantime Munim Khan, governor of Bengal, died and Mirza Sulaiman was offered Governorship of Bengal.[3] Mirza Sulaiman declined the offer as he was anxious to recover Badakhshan. Therefore, Husain Quli was appointed Governor of Bengal; his brother Ismail Quli and Raja Todar Mal also accompanied him.[4]

The charge of Bengal was yet another important assignment for the family. But Husain Quli was put in a very difficult situation because most of the officers already posted in Bengal were Chaghtais. The Chaghtai officers strongly resented the appointment of a 'Qizlbash' as their commander.[5] His whole energy was spent in keeping the Chaghtai

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1. _Akbarnama_, III, 39-40; _Tabaqat_, II, 260.

2. _Tarikh-i Akbari_, 157; _Muntakhab_, II, 216;

3. _Akbarnama_, III, 161-62. Badauni does not mention the offer of Bengal to Mirza Sulaiman. On the contrary the author says, 'at his own request and for the peace of the kingdom', it was settled that Mirza Sulaiman should go by sea on pilgrimage to Hijaz. Cf. _Muntakhab_, II, 216, 218.

4. _Ibid._, III, 161-62.

5. _Ibid._, III, 162, Abul Fazl writes, 'some from evil disposition..... brought forward the affair of religion and began to chatter foolishly about headship of Husain Quli'. _Muntakhab_, II, 227, and _Tabaqat_, II, 481, 83-84 do not mention differences between Chaghtais and Khan-i Jahan over the latter's religious beliefs.

officers in check and saving Bengal from the Afghans who were trying desperately to recover Bengal after Munim Khan's death.

After reaching Bengal Husain Quli along with Ismail Quli and Raja Todar Mal persuaded the officers to join him in the campaign against the Afghans. At Teliagarhi he defeated the Afghans and captured the fort.[1] He then marched to Tanda to drive out Daud Afghan who had shut himself up in the fort of Agmahal (the future Rajmahal). At this juncture the Chaghtai officers refused to cooperate with him, because they professed disapproval of being headed by a Qizlbash.[2] When the Emperor was informed about his weak position, he ordered Muzaffar Khan, the governor of Bihar, to proceed to help him. Although Muzaffar Khan was a Persian and an old servant of Bairam Khan, he delayed in carrying out this order. It was only after the assurance that the campaign was to begin immediately that he came.[3] The two commanders defeated the Afghans in the battle fought at Agmahal. Many of the prominent Afghans were killed and Daud was captured. The remnants of the Afghans were then defeated in Satgaon, and other places. Husain Quli also succeeded in reducing to submission Raja Mal Gosain, the zamindar of Kuch.[4]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 162-63; Muntakhab, II, 227.

2. Akbarnama, III, 178, 'The officers of the victorious army were for the most part Chaghtais, and did not wish that so great an enterprise should be headed by Khan-i Jahan who was a Qizlbash'.

3. Ibid., 179-80.

4. For the details of Bengal campaign, see Akbarnama, III, 179-83, 259-60, Muntakhab, II, 227-30, 237-38, Riyaz-us Salatin, 167, see also, Maulvi Muhammad Akram, Bengal aur Orissa men Raja Todar Mal ki Karguzari (Urdu), 7-9.

After that Husain Quli returned to Sihhatpur, a town which he had founded near Tanda. Here he took ill and died on December 1578.[1] While describing the death of Husain Quli, Abul Fazl says that because of some of his great victories and the huge booty which he had collected in these campaigns, Husain Quli contemplated rebellion.[2] These assertions are not corroborated by any evidence, and the suspicion might have been raised by Abul Fazl himself since he shows himself to be a consistent critic of Wali Beg Zulqadar and his sons and relations, especially Husain Quli. What is obvious from Abul Fazl's assertion is that the family of Bairam Khan was still the butt of insinuations and accusations from a large section of the nobility.[3]

III

We have seen that after the removal of Bairam Khan, the position of the family deteriorated considerably during the leadership of

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1. Akbarnama, III, 263, Muntakhab, II, 267, Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 652-653.

2. Akbarnama, III, 263.

3. Ibid., II, 132. When Abdur Rahim was brought to the court from Ahmadabad after the murder of Bairam Khan, Abul Fazl states 'His Majesty Shahinshah in spite of evil speakers and evil thinkers received that child of lustrous forehead in the lines of whose brows there were the notes of nobleness and truth with inborn kindness and reared him in the shadow of his own supervision'. (tr. 203).

Husain Quli. Moreover, the Emperor utilised the opportunity for retaining some of its members in high ranks and positions.

The eclipse of the family was overcome considerably with the rise of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. It is a matter for consideration why so much favour was shown to the son of Bairam Khan and how a family numerically so weak became once again one of the most important family groups in the Empire.

As already stated even Abul Fazl had found very little that was blamesworthy in Bairam Khan.[1] He puts all responsibility for his rebellion on Wali Beg, his sons and other proteges.[2] Thus, when Abdur Rahim was brought to the court from Pattan, he was taken under the personal care of the Emperor, in spite of eveil speakers and evil thinkers present at the court. Akbar appointed able men like Maulana Amin Andjani, Mir Abul Fateh and Man Singh as his tutors.[3] To strengthen his position in the nobility, the Emperor married the sister of Mirza Aziz Koka to him.[4] The family had established very cordial relations with

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1. See Supra.

2. See Supra.

3. Madasri Akhbar, 190b; Akbarnama, II, 132-33; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 693-94.

4. A.K., I, 31.

some Indian Muslim families by contracting matrimonial relations or extending patronage to them;[1] and this too might have helped the family in the survival of its fortunes.

The family remained numerically very weak during the 1580s. Husain Quli, Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Sultan were already dead. Ismail Quli was holding a *jagir* in Kalpi after being transferred from Bengal after the death of Husain Quli. Hence in the beginning Ismail Quli and Abdur Rahim were the only members of the family holding any positions. Later on the family improved its position when Abdur Rahim's sons were granted *mansabs* and a few other nobles entered the family through marriages.

Abdur Rahim was brought up by Akbar, and in his early years he accompanied the Emperor in his campaigns.[2] In the first and second Gujarat

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1. Bairam Khan married the daughter of Jamal Khan of Mewat and later on Abdur Rahim married the daughter of Sodha chief of Omarkot. Bairam Khan and Abdur Rahim also had very cordial relations with the Barha Sayyid. The Lodi Afghans were also a very close ally of Abdur Rahim. *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, II, 59, Abul Baqi Nahawandi suggests that Bairam Khan took keen interest in cultivating relations with local chiefs, and in fact laid down policy of recruiting the Rajputs into Mughal nobility. *Z.K.*, I, 109 narrates that Abdur Rahim and the Kachhwaha chief Raja Man Singh had very intimate relations. Man Singh used to give monthly allowances to the sons of Abdur Rahim.

2. He is noticed with Emperor in the campaign against Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman and other Uzbek nobles. See, *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, I, 693-94. In his *Darbar-i Akbari*, p.571, Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad has given a strange account. He writes that when Mirza Hakim invaded Panjab, Akbar was engaged in the campaign against the Uzbeks. He immediately proceeded to the Panjab leaving Abdur Rahim in Agra to manage the affairs at the capital. Azad also says that Abdur Rahim was given the title of Munim Khan while Munim Khan was still alive. This is not corroborated by any contemporary source.

campaign he accompanied the Emperor and was assigned Pattan under the tutelage of Sayyid Ahmad Barha.[1] During the second campaign in the battle of Sarnal he commanded the centre and distinguished himself.[2] After that he returned to the capital along with the Emperor.

In 1576, Mirza Aziz Koka who had disobeyed imperial orders in connection with the application of Dagh regulations, was dismissed from the Governorship of Gujarat. Abdur Rahim was raised to the mansab of 4000 and appointed Governor of Gujarat in his place. As he had no experience, Wazir Khan was appointed as his deputy. Abdur Rahim was ordered to give 'precedence in all affairs to Wazir Khan's opinion and approval'.[3] Shortly afterwards Akbar visited Ajmer and he summoned him to his presence and ordered him to join Bhagwan Das and Man Singh in the Mewar campaign.[4]

In 1581, he was appointed Mir-i Arz[5] in charge of presenting petitions at court. While still holding the office of

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1. Akbarnama, III, 6; Muntakhab, II, 139-40, does not, however, mention being assigned to Abdur Rahim. Cf. Ma'asir-i Rahimi, II, 210.

2. For the details of Gujarat campaign, see Akbarnama, III, 5-12; Muntakhab, II, 164-70; Tabaqat, II, 237-45; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, II, 220-21.

3. Akbarnama, III, 165-66; Mirat-i Ahmadi, 113-14. But Mirat-i Sikandari, 457 had not mentioned him as Governor. Mansab has been noticed in Mirat-i Ahmadi only.

4. For the details of the campaign, see Akbarnama, III, 198, 220-21; Muntakhab, II, 224.

5. Akbarnama, III, 297; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 693-94. For a detailed discussion on the functions of Mir-i Arz, see Ibn Hasan, Central Structure of the Mughal Empire.

Mir-i Arz, Abdur Rahim was ordered to proceeded to Ajmer, where the brother's son of Raja Bharmal had killed Dastan Khan, the Mughal officer posted at Ajmer. He was granted the jagir of Ranthambhor and was asked to punish the miscreants and establish peace in the area.[1] The details of the campaign are not available. However, he was called back to the court in 1582 to attend the annual darbar. All the important nobles present at the court were asked to make one proposal each. Abdur Rahim pleaded for the preservation of small birds.[2] In the same year he was appointed Ataliq (Guide) of Prince Sultan Salim. His predecessor in this office was Qutubuddin Khan Koka of Atka Khail.[3] This appointment must have raised his status further in the Mughal hierarchy and brought him close to the prince.

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1. Akbarnama, III, 326-27. G.N. Sharma in his book Mewar and the Mughal, on the authority of some local source, gives more information about Abdar Rahim's activities in Ajmer. He mentions that on June 16, 1580 Mirza Khan was appointed Governor of Ajmer and commander in charge of the Mewar campaign. After leaving his family at Sherpur he led an expedition against the Rana. The Rana withdrew to his hill headquarters of Dehlana pursued by Abdur Rahim, who finally captured the fort. In the meantime, Kr. Amar Singh by his daring effort invaded Sherpur to divert the attention of Mughal generals. He was also successful in capturing the Mirza's family. But at the instance of the Rana, he sent them back with honours. Cf. Mewar and the Mughals, 101.

2. Akbarnama, III, 380-81.

3. Ibid., 394.

During the period that he was in the capital performing the duties of _Ataliq_, certain administrative reforms were taken up. Owing to inefficiency and corruption of officials, the merchants used to be oppressed; and so special officers were appointed for each market to look after their welfare. The administration of the horse market was given to Abdur Ehim, and Ismail Quli was ordered to look after the offices of 'grain market' along with Zain Khan Koka.[1] Further reforms in the administration were introduced in 1583. Princes of royal blood and leading nobles of the Empire were given various departments to administer. Prince Sultan Salim was ordered to look after the 'Divine task of severity and lexity and the superintendence of marriages and birthday feasts'. Abdur Rahim and Faisi were asked to assist him in the task.[2] It is, however, difficult to explain the actual nature of these offices, and further particulars about these measures are not available.

After these assignments of relatively minor significance, Abdur Rahim was sent on a campaign in Gujarat against Musaffar Shah.[3] But his appointment was disapproved by a section of the nobility at the

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1. _Akbarnama_, III, 396.

2. _Ibid._, 404-05.

3. _Akbarnama_, III, 413-14; _Mirat-i Ahmadi_, 130; _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, I, 11, 695. For the details of the event preceding the appointment of Abdur Rahim, see the section on the family of ddin Atka. _Tabaqat_, II, 370-72, 373-74.

court. They argued that when more experienced generals had failed, appointment of a comparatively young and inexperienced commander was unwise. Though contemporary sources do not mention the names of the nobles who opposed his appointment, later events suggest that the nobles in question belonged to the Atka Khail and such other old aristocratic families.

Akbar was aware of group rivalries in his nobility and while deputing nobles with Abdur Rahim only those nobles were nominated who were closely allied with him or had no religious or racial affinities with the group hostile to him. Thus the nobles posted with him included Barha Sayyids, Sayyid Hashim, Sayyid Qasim; Rajputs, viz. Rai Durga, Rai Lonkaran, Medni Rai, and Indian Muslims, viz. Shaikh Kabir, Darvesh Khan, Rafi Sarmadi, Mian Bahadur and Nasib Khan. All of them were of Indian origin with whom Abdur Rahim's family had established good relations.[1]

Another army under the command of Qulij Khan and Nauraj Khan was also sent to Gujarat via Malwa to help Abdur Rahim. It is, however, significant that all the officers of this army belonged to the family of the Atkas and such nobles as were hostile to Abdur Rahim's family.[2]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 413; Tabaqat, II, 375.
2. Ibid. Also see chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

After reaching the neighbourhood of Sarkhej on the Sabarmati, Abdur Rahim did not wait for the officers deputed from Malwa, but, at the suggestion of Daulat Khan Lodi and others, attacked the enemy and defeated Muzaffar Shah.[1] He gained another victory at Nandand (Nanded). The Emperor raised him to the mansab of 5000 and granted him the title of Khan Khanan.[2]

Although Abdur Rahim defeated the rebels yet he was not supported by all sections of the nobles present in the camp. The supporters of Abdur Rahim insisted that the opponents be punished for not actively participating in the campaign. But before taking up any action, Abdur Rahim consulted Khwaja Nizam Uddin Ahmad Bakhshi, a friend of the family who advised him to restrain himself.[3] Hence a very

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1. Details of the campaign may be checked in the following sources: Akbarnama, III, 424-29, Muntakhab, II, 331-32, Mirat-i Ahmadi, 130-34. Daulat Khan Lodi is reported to have said, 'At that time you will have partners in victory, if you want to be known as Khan Khanan you must win this victory alone'. Cf. Z.K., I, 32; also Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 693-94.

2. Akbarnama, III, 428-30, Tabaqat, II, 375-76, Muntakhab, II, 336, Mirat-i Ahmadi, 130-34. For a detailed account of the achievements of Daulat Khan Lodi, see chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'. De Laet, 154-55 while discussing Gujarat campaign mentions that after being defeated Muzaffar Shah committed suicide. The information is not correct.

3. Muntakhab, II, 332-33. Nizamuddin Ahmad married Bairam Khan's foster sister during his life time. Abul Fazl, Maktubat-i Allami, Delhi, 1846 II, 91-92. In a letter written to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan in 1584-85, Abul Fazl refers to the hostility of a section of the nobility towards the former. Darbar-i Akbari, 591 Muhammad Husain Azad writes that Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan wrote a letter to his son Mirza Iraj who was at the court after his victory over Muzaffar Shah. Without appending the copy of the letter which he found in a large collection of letters, Azad adds that Abdur Rahim described his critical condition on account of the hostile attitude of the officers posted in Gujarat.

awkward situation was avoided. But his position in the camp remained weak; this is borne out by his correspondence with Hakim Human and Abul Fazl. He apparently wrote to Abul Fazl as well as Hakim Human asking them to speak on his behalf about his precarious condition and to request the Emperor to recall him from Gujarat. However, his request was turned down.[1]

Abdur Rahim accordingly engaged himself in pursuing Muzaffar Shah and was successful in expelling him from the imperial territories.[2] At this time, it appears that Akbar was taking a keen interest in the Deccan affairs and that some correspondence between him and Abdur Rahim took place in this connection. In a farman addressed to Abdur Rahim regarding the death of Raja Bir Bal, there is a long description of the Deccan problem. From references in the farman it turns out that Abdur Rahim was then being consulted about the proposed campaign.[3] He went to the Court in this connection, but the charge of the campaign was assigned to Mirza Aziz Koka.[4] The appointment of Mirza Aziz Koka to the Deccan

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1. Darbar-i Akbari, 591-92, Azad states that he saw the letters of Abdur Rahim written to Abul Fazl and Hakim Human in this connection. But he had not reproduced the same. However, the letters of Abul Fazl to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan corroborate the account of Azad. Cf. Maktubat-i Allami, II, 118-19.

2. For the details of Abdur Rahim's activities in Gujarat, see Akbarnama, III, 437-38, 452-53, 471-72; Mirat-i Sikandari, 465, 466-67; Mirat-i Ahmadi, 132-34; Z.K., I, 31-34.

3. Maktubat, I, 43-45.

4. Akbarnama, III, 489-90.

was resented by Abdur Rahim and his associates, and we notice that when Mirza Aziz Koka, after his disastrous retreat in the Deccan came to seek the help of Abdur Rhim, the latter refused him assistance.[1]

When the details of the campaign were reported to the Emperor he took serious note of Abdur Rahim's behaviour and immediately summoned him to court. For sometime he remained at Court, and later on was appointed Vakil. But at the same time he was given jagir of Jaunpur and was ordered to take charge of the place.[2] The appointment of Abdur Rahim to the office of Vakil was more a favour and a mark of distinction for his attachment to the king from his boyhood than the conferment of any real power.[3] Moreover, since he was posted at Jaunpur he was more or less cut off from the Court.

While he was in Jaunpur, Akbar was planning the conquest of Qandhar. Abdur Rahim seized the opportunity and with the help of Shaikh Abul Fazl was successful in getting charge of the campaign.[4]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 489-90; Z.K., I, 33-34. For more details of the event, see chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

2. Akbarnama, III, 571-72.

3. For a detailed discussion on the powers and functions of Vakil, see Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of Mughal Empire, 118-27.

4. Maktubat, II, 118-19, 128-30. The reading of these letters suggests that some correspondence passed between Abul Fazl and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, and Abdur Rahim asked him to request the Emperor to give him the charge of Qandhar campaign. But Nizam Uddin and Abul Baqa do not refer to this projected Qandhar campaign. According to them Abdur Rahim was assigned government of Multan and Bhakkar and ordered to conquer Sindh and Baluchistan.
Cf. Tabaqat, II, 375-76; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, II, 341-42; Z.K., I, 34.

He took charge of the troops, but decided instead to attack Sind. Jani Beg the ruler of Thatta was defeated and accompanied Abdur Rahim to the Court. The defeated ruler also gave his daughter in marriage to Mirza Iraj, son of Abdur Rahim.[1]

After returning from Thatta Abdur Rahim was deputed to serve under Prince Danial in the Panjab.[2] It was during this time that Sultan Daniyal was appointed, along with Abdur Rahim, to lead the Mughal campaign in the Deccan. A council of nobles was convened to discuss the Deccan affairs. In the council Abdur Rahim represented that the charge of the campaign might be given to him, and Sultan Daniyal might be relieved of the burden. His representation was accepted and the command was given to him.[3]

The problem became complex, because Sultan Murad who was governor of Gujarat resented the appointment of Abdur Rahim, as he was considered a close associate and ally of Sultan Salim.[4] Sadiq Muhammad Khan who was Ataliq of Sultan Murad, asked him to invade the Deccan before the arrival of Abdur Rahim.

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1. For details of the campaign, see Akbarnama, III, 601-02, 606-09, 613-14, 633-35, 638; Niamatullah, Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, ed. Imam Al Din, Dacca, 1960, I, 475-76, Ma'asir-i Rahimi, II, 346-49.

2. Akbarnama, III, 645-46.

3. Ibid., III, 646-48.

4. Ibid., 648. Prince Murad also resented the appointment of Prince Daniyal. Saiyyed Ali Tabatabai, Burhan-i Ma'asir, Jamia Delhi, 1936, 616 specifically mentions that Abdur Rahim was considered a partisan of Sultan Salim.

Abdur Rahim proceeded towards the Deccan along with the commanders from the clans of the Barha Sayyids, the Lodi Afghans and his Rajput allies.[1] After staying for few days at his *jagir* of Bhilsa, he marched towards Khandesh. He took some time in deliberations with Raja Ali Khan, which was interpreted by Sadiq Muhammad Khan and other nobles of Sultan Murad's camp as a deliberate attempt to wreck the campaign by slow movements. Sultan Murad accepted this interpretation and marched towards the Deccan without waiting for him to join.[2] When Abdur Rahim came and joined his camp at Jalna, the Prince refused to meet him. Abdur Rahim thereupon left the camp and only after great persuasion did he return.

On December 1595 the fort of Ahmadnagar was invested by the imperial army.[3] In the whole campaign the attitude of Abdur Rahim suggests that he was not keen on the seizure of Ahmadnagar. Raja Ali Khan and Khwaja Muhammad Shirazi, the known friends of Abdur Rahim were

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1. For his relation with Rajputs see *Z.K.*, I, 109.

2. *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, 616. The inordinate delay on the part of Abdur Rahim annoyed the prince to the extent that he wrote a letter to him and therein expressed his indignation. Abdur Rahim in reply wrote that since he was not quite sure of the friendly attitude of Raja Ali Khan, he thought it prudent to wait for some time. Also see, *Maktubat*, II, 182. Abul Fazl wrote letters to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan, Mirza Shahrukh and Qasim Khan Tabrezi, the *Diwan* of Murad, urging them to give up their differences and to sacrifice personal interests to their obligations to imperial service.

3. *Akbarnama*, III, 698-99, Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama*, Nawal Kishore ed. 1870, 445-47.

suspected of secretly helping the garrison.[1] On one occasion when the garrison promised to surrender if Abdur Rahim came to gates of the fort, he refused to do so.[2] However, at the time of the negotiations for drafting the treaty, he was one of the plenipotentiaries of the Prince.

The terms of the treaty were strongly disapproved by the Emperor. Abul Fazl has pointed out in clear terms that the treaty was signed because 'a party of men owing to ignorance, and some, from interested motives, accepted these improper proposals'. He adds that 'owing to influence of bribes and listening to idle tales, the peace proposals were accepted'. Although he has not mentioned any names, it may be inferred that Abdur Rahim and his group of nobles were mainly responsible for the settlement of peace terms.[3]

After the conclusion of the treaty, the Mughals raised the siege and retreated towards Berar, without fighting the joint forces of

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1. Burhan-i Ma'asir, 618; Iqbalnama, 447. Mutamid Khan writes that because of the negligencce of Abdur Rahim from the eastern side of the fort which was under his protection Abhanj Khan along with Miran Shah entered the fort. Frederick Augustus, The Emperor Akbar, Patna 1973, II, 330-33. He has given a graphic description of the differences between Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and Murad. For Raja Ali Khan's role, see Burhan-i Ma'asir, 619, and for Khwaja Muhammad Shirazi, see Tarikh-i Farishta, Nawal Kishore, ed., II, 160-62.

2. Z.K., I, 40.

3. The treaty was signed on 23rd February 1596, Akbarnama, III, 700. Farishta, II, 161-62.

Bijapur and Golkunda. But soon after they had to fight them at Ashti[1] where in the beginning they were defeated and Prince Murad was taken away from the battle field. Abdur Rahim remained firm and defeated Suhail Khan, the commander of the Deccan forces.[2] Thus he was successful in retriving the honour of the Mughals. After this victory when Murad asked him to join in the conquest of Ahmadnagar, he declined stating that there were still many strong places to be taken in Berar and that it would be better to defer the assault on Ahmadnagar until the following years. As a result relation between Murad and Abdur Rahim deteriorated. Abdur Rahim left the Mughal camp and went to his jagir at Jalna. When Akbar was informed of these developments, he summoned the prince for consultation and ordered Abdur Rahim to take charge of Deccan during Murad's absence.[3] But Murad was prevailed upon not to go to the Court; his courtiers argued that his absence from the Deccan might jeopardise his interests.[4] On the other hand, Abdur Rahim refused to join

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1. Iqbalnama, 450; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, II, 468; Akbarnama, III, 718-20. The battle was fought on February 8, 1597.

2. Ibid.; Z.K., I, 41-45. Farid Bhakkari gives more detailed account of the battle of Ashti. Sayyid Hashim and Sayyid Qasim Barha, Daulat Khan Lodi and the Rajputs showed great valour in the battle.

3. Akbarnama, III, 739, Abul Fazl writes that Salbhan was sent from Court for this task. He further adds that Abdur Rahim left the camp owing to ill success of his evil wishes.

4. Ibid., III, 744, "Murad designed to come to Court when he was summoned but the leaders did not abandon their interested views and petitioned to the effect that the departure of the Prince would cause confusion".

Murad's camp.[1] Hence Abul Fazl was despatched to the Deccan to bring Murad and have Abdur Rahim also sent to the Court.[2] After reaching the Court, Abdur Rahim remained for sometime out of favour. But after the death of Murad, when Akbar decided to march to the Deccan personally, Abdur Rahim was ordered to serve Prince Daniyal who had taken over as Viceroy of the Deccan.[3]

When the approach of the imperial army was reported, the Deccanis fled away leaving the Mughals at liberty to advance without molestation. Burhanpur, Ahmadnagar and Berar were made into one province. Prince Daniyal was given charge of the province under the management of Abdur Rahim.[4]

The last five years of Akbar's reign (1600-1605) in the Deccan were devoted to the struggle with Malik Ambar, and Raju Deccani. Malik Ambar was largely successful in outwitting the Mughals as well as his Deccani rival Raju.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 744.

2. Ibid., 744, 751; Von Noer, II, 348, believes that Abdur Rahim's call from Deccan was an injustice which Akbar compensated by favour at the time of his departure to the Deccan. Farishta, II, 163 writes that though the whole misunderstanding with Murad arose out of the prince's jealous disposition, the Emperor's anger fell upon Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

3. Akbarnama, III, 756; Farishta, II, 164.

4. Ibid., 785.

5. For a modern account of Malik Ambar, see Radhey Shyam, Life and Times of Malik Ambar, Delhi, 1968.

After being defeated by Shaikh Abdur Rahman in Telengana, Malik Ambar sued for peace.[1] Abdur Rahim and others favoured an understanding with Malik Ambar in the teeth of Abul Fazl's oppositions.[2] In the same year Daniyal divided the Mughal Deccan into two divisions, one under the commands of Abul Fazl and the other Abdur Rahim[3] in order to suppress Raju Deccani and Malik Ambar. Abdur Rahim took some initiative and his son Mirza Iraj inflicted a heavy defeat to Malik Ambar.[4] After the death of Daniyal in 1605, he took over as Viceroy of Deccan. He now began to intervene in the struggle between Malik Ambar and Raju Deccani. Why he followed such a policy, which apparently proved to be of no help to the Mughals, is difficult to explain. Ultimately the policies pursued by him led to the loss of a great part of the Mughal Deccan. Probably on these accounts even the contemporaries called him a traitor and a friend of Malik Ambar.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 789, 791; Iqbalnama, 474, 476.

2. The peace was made on January 3, 1602. Akbarnama, III, 794-95. Abul Fazl disapproved of making any understanding with Malik Ambar. Mutamid Khan is also in agreement with him. He says, "His dissatisfaction (Abul Fazl's) was justified as even in the fifteenth year of Jahangir's reign, i.e. 18th year of the event, there is no peace between Malik Ambar and the Mughals. Cf. Iqbalnama, 479.

3. Abul Fazl's headquarter was at Ahmadnagar and Abdur Rahim was to be in charge of Berar, Telengana and to conduct campaign against Malik Ambar.

4. Takmila, III, 807; Iqbalnama, 484.

5. Z.K., I,54-56,Farid Bhakkari writes that Abdur Rahim had very friendly relation with the Deccani rulers and Abul Fazl declared him to be a rebel.

Sometimes in 1604 Akbar had summoned him to the capital with the intention of sending an expedition to Turan. Abdur Rahim declined to come, representing that the affairs of the Deccan were more important.[1]

At the time of Akbar's death Abdur Rahim was serving in the Deccan along with his two sons, Mirza Iraj and Darab Khan, but the sons were holding minor ranks. Among his other family members Ismail Quli Khan attained the rank of 4000[2] and held such important assignments as Thanedari of Sawat[3] (1586), co-governorship of Multan (1586) and Gujarat (1588), and Vakil of Murad in Malwa and Gujarat (1591-93).[4] He also served under Daniyal in Allahabad (1598) and died sometimes in 1602.[5] But it is quite significant that he was dismissed from all these posts either on the charge that his performance was not satisfactory or that he disobeyed the imperial orders. He was censured on several occasions on this account, so much so that once orders for his exile were also issued.[6] It appears

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1. Takmila, III, 834.

2. Akbarnama, III, 721. He was given promotion in 1598.

3. Ibid., 492. Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 105-107.

4. Ibid., 511-12, 531, 598-600. In Multan he was co-governor with Sadiq Muhammad Khan.

5. Ibid., 721; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 105-107.

6. Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 106-107. Shahnawaz Khan writes that 'in 31st regnal year of Akbar when Raja Bhagwan Das was recalled owing to insanity from the government of Zublistan (Afghanistan), Ismail Quli was appointed in his place, but he exhibited improper traits and fell out of favour. An order was given that he should be put into a boat and sent to Mecca. (tr., I, 703).

that the main cause of his declining fortunes was the old family feuds with the 'Atka Khail' the family of Adham Anaga and Sadiq Muhammad Khan.[1] Besides, Akbar's attitude was also not favourable towards him; although he was retained in service and no curtailment in his mansab was made, his sons and the sons of his brother Husain Quli Khan-i Jahan were not given promotions.[2] Ultimately at the death of Akbar, the family of Bairam Khan like the family of Shamsuddin Atka was reduced to the family of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan (Abdur Rahim and his sons).

Towards the end of Akbar's reign, affairs in the Deccan had fallen into great confusion. The Deccanis threw off the Mughal yoke and the imperial armies under Abdur Rahim failed to protect the conquered territories.[3] Jahangir was preoccupied with more pressing problems viz. the rebellion of Khusrau, and the Mewar and Qandhar campaigns, with the result that the imperial pressure on the Deccan slackened perceptibly. Although Jahangir confirmed Abdur Rahim in the viceroyalty of the Deccan, despatching dresses of honour to him and his sons, yet no substantial help was granted.[4] In 1608 Abdur Rahim visited the capital and promised to

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1. See Supra.

2. See Appendix. A & B

3. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 504-05. Nimatullah writes that even those mahals which were conquered by Prince Murad and Daniyal were reoccupied by Malik Ambar. Also see 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64, 21, 46; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, II, 513.

complete the conquest of the Deccan provided he was assisted with reinforcements numbering 1200 cavalry and 100,000 rupees in cash.[1] These demands being immediately complied with, he began his journey to the Deccan accompanied by Raja Suraj Singh.[2] After reaching Burhanpur he did his best to improve the Mughal position; Shahnawaz Khan and Darab Khan achieved some initial success, but Malik Ambar captured Jinapur and forced Abdur Rhim to retire to Burhanpur.[3] Unable to cope with the forces at his command he requested the Emperor for further reinforcement. Hence Parvez was appointed to the supreme command and Jafar Beg Asaf Khan was deputed as his guardian.[4] But even after the arrival of the Prince, Deccanis could not be expelled from the imperial territories. In these circumstances Asaf Khan suggested that the Emperor should himself come to Deccan. However, it was decided to send Khan-i Jahan Lodi, who pledged himself to conquer Deccan within two years.[5] But the Deccanis

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1. Tuzuk, 70-71; Mutamid Khan, Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, ed. Maulana Abd Al-Hai & Ahmad Ali; Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1865, 34-35. Kamgar Husain, Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, (Rotograph) B.M.

2. Ma'asir-i Rahimi, II, 513-16; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 505 supports the view.

3. Z.K., I, 45.

4. Tuzuk, I, 74-75; Iqbalnama, 36-37; Khafi Khan, I, 260; Z.K., I, 45-46; T. Roe, I, 90-91 writes, 'the prince hath the name and state but the Khan (Abdur Rahim) governs all'.

5. Tuzuk, I, 77-78; Iqbalnama, 38-39; Z.K., I, 46; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 509-10 adds that he was sent to Deccan because of past experience of service in the Deccan and intimate relation with Abdur Rahim. For more details see 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

were successful again, and forced the Mughals to sign a dishonorable treaty.[1] Regarding the attitude of Abdur Rahim in the Deccan at this stage contemporary and near-contemporary historians give two different accounts. Jahangir, Kamgar Husain and Farid Bhakkari hold him responsible for the reverses. They say that Khan-i Jahan Lodi accused him of treachery and suggested his immediate recall.[2] On the contrary Khwaja Nimatullah states that a section of the nobility hostle to him convinced the Emperor that he was in league with the Deccanis and had surrendered Jalna and other _parganas_ to them. He claims that it was in fact Khan-i Jahan Lodi who personally interceded on his behalf by highlighting the great services rendered by Abdur Rahim and his family and cleared the misunderstanding. He also stood surety for the good conduct of Abdur Rahim.[3]

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1. _Tuzuk_, 68; _Iqbalnama_, 38-39; _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_, II, 510 clearly states that because of rainy season, shortage of food and fodder and the poor condition of the army, no advance could be made after reaching Deval-gam (in Balaghat). About the same time Malik Ambar offered for peace. Although Prince Parvez and Khan Jahan Lodi were not happy with it, yet because of the prevailing conditions and hostile attitude of certain nobles, terms of peace were accepted. But _Basatin-us Salatin_, 268 and the _Ahwal-i Shahzadgi_ say that prince called a council of war, in which Abdur Rahim suggested postponement of the campaign till after the rainy season. While rejecting his suggestion, it was said that he was in league with the enemy.

2. _Tuzuk_, 68; _Iqbalnama_, 38-39. Cf. _Z.K._, I, 46, Farid Bhakkari says that after the arrival of Khan-i Jahan Lodi, Mughal forces from two sides attacked Deccanis. Malk Ambar could not withstand the assault and came to Khan Khanan for help. Khan Khanan treacherously stopped Khan-i Jahan for some time near Zafarnagar, hence Malik Ambar fought with his full force with Abdullah Khan and forced him to retire.

3. _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_, II, 494-95, adds that Khan-i Jahan went to the extent of saying that a person of the calibre of Abdur Rahim could not be found in the court of Safavids, Uzbek and other states. Cf. _Tuzuk_, 86 Jahangir says, 'As many of those who were loyal had represented of the state of affairs whether true or false according to their ideas and I was displeased with him'.

But at the same time Nimatullah is also critical of the policies pursued by him which led to the retreat of Mughal forces from Jalna.[1]

Mahabat Khan was despatched to enquire into the circumstances of the defeat of the imperial army and summon Abdur Rahim to the Court.[2]

After reaching the capital he remained out of favour for some time. But in due course his son Darab Khan was given a mansab of 1000/500 and Mirza Iraj received the title of Shahnawaz Khan. Sometimes later Jahangir intended to appoint Abdur Rahim to the governorship of Kabul. But at the last moment Qulij Khan was appointed, and Abdur Rahim along with his sons was assigned jagir in Kalpi.

The Deccan problem could not be solved even after the transfer of Abdur Rahim.[3] Therefore Khwaja Abul Hasan and some other nobles proposed that Abdur Rahim be sent once again to the Deccan arguing that 'no one understood the business of that region as the Khan Khanan did'.[4] The Emperor accepted the suggestion; he was promoted to the high mansab of 7000 zat and his sons Shahnawas Khan and Darab Khan were also promoted

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 504-05. Also see chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

2. Tuzuk, 86; Iqbalnama, 54-55; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 57a.

3. See for details chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

4. Tuzuk, 108; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 494-95 says that on the recommendation of Khan-i Jahan Lodi he was sent again.

to the mansab of 3000 and 2000/1500 respectively. His younger son Rahmandad too was given a suitable mansab.[1] Some of his known enemies posted in the Deccan were either transferred or died by the time he reached there.[2] Thus he was better placed to pursue his own course of action, being to some extent free from internal feuds among Mughal commanders. He opened the offensive against Malik Ambar with some vigour and created dissension in the Deccan army by offering bribes. A good number of Deccani nobles joined the Mughals.[3] Mughal armies also achieved some notable successes. Malik Ambar was severely defeated near Khirki (later Aurangabad) by the combined forces of Shahnawaz Khan and Darab Khan.[4] After the victory, Shahnawaz Khan was promoted to the rank of 5000.[5]

Abdur Rahim continued to hold the supreme command till 1615. He was no doubt successful in retriving the prestige of the Mughals but not an inch of territory was annexed by him. He was still accused of

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1. Tuzuk, 108; Iqbalnama, 67.

2. Ibid., 108, 113-14, 130. Asaf Khan Jafar Beg and Amir-ul Umara Sharif were dead. Raja Man Singh died in a year later and Aziz Koka was transferred to Mewar.

3. Adam Khan, Yaqut Khan, Jadao Ray and Babu Katiya came to Shahnawaz Khan and joined his services. Tuzuk, 152-53.

4. Ibid., 152-53; Iqbalnama, 83-87.

5. Tuzuk, 153, promotion in mansab is not recorded. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 645-46.

accepting bribes from the Deccanis.[1] It appears that he was interested in maintaining the status quo only. Hence Jahangir transferred Parvez and appointed Khurram in his place. Orders for Abdur Rahim's recall were also issued but the later events suggest that he remained in the Deccan and met the prince on the left bank of Narmada along with other nobles who were posted with him.[2] To get his full support, Khurram married the daughter of Shahnawaz Khan after reaching Burhanpur.[3]

After the submission of the Deccanis, Khurram appointed Abdur Rahim as his deputy to govern Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar and deputed Shahnawaz Khan with a cavalry of 12000 to hold possession of the conquered territories. Darab Khan accompanied him to court.[4]

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1. Iqbalnama, 479; T. Roe, II, 279-89, writes that Khan Khanan doubtless was a practiser with the Deccanis from whom he received pension.

2. Tuzuk, 159 ; T. Roe, II, 279-80 'The Emperor, we are told, was well aware ... of the power of the Khan Khanan and was therefore desirous to accommodate all by accepting a peace and confirming the Khan Khanan in the government he held ...' Z.K., I, 56 Farid Bhakkari states that in the reign of Jahangir he was suspected of an alliance with Malik Ambar, hence he was dismissed. One of the confidential servants of Khurram, Muhammad Masum came to the Emperor and informed him that Abdur Rahim was in correspondence with Malik Ambar and those letters could be found with Shaikh Abdus Salam of Lucknow. When the Shaikh was asked about it, he refused to tell anything. Mahabat Khan, however, tortured him to death.

3. Tuzuk, 162 ; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 645-46.

4. Tuzuk, 194; Iqbalnama, 102-04; Khafi Khan, I, 293-94.

In 1618 Abdur Rahim's son Amrullah captured the diamond mines of Bairagarh from Panju, a *zamindar* of Khandesh.[1] In the same year while the Emperor was at Ghati Chanda, Abdur Rahim came to pay him homage. He was promoted to the rank of 7000/7000 and confirmed in his post.[2]

In 1619 Shahnawaz Khan the eldest son of Abdur Rahim died. He then held the *mansab* of 5000. On the orders of the Emperor his *mansab* was added on to those of his brothers and sons. Darab Khan was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000. He was despatched to the Deccan to take charge of the government of Berar and Ahmadnagar which had been held by Shahnawaz Khan. Rahmandad was promoted to the rank of 2000/800. Manuchahar and Taghril the sons of Shahnawaz Khan were raised to the *mansabs* of 2000/1000 and 1000/500 respectively.[3]

As soon as Khurram left the Deccan, Malik Ambar formed a league with Bijapur and Golkunda, broke the treaty and launched an offensive against the Mughals. Although the Mughals were successful in direct engagements, they had to suffer heavy casualties in men and material and part with substantial part of their territories. The Mughal

1. *Tuzuk*, 236.
2. *Tuzuk*, 257; *Iqbalnama*, 122.
3. *Tuzuk*, 280; *Iqbalnama*, 128; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, 14-15, 645-68, gives *mansab* of Darab Khan.

forces retreated northwards and ultimately took refuge in Burhanpur. The fort was placed under siege.[1] Abdur Rahim repeatedly sent petition for help and threatened to immolate along with his family if quick help was not sent to him.[2] Hence Jahangir immediately despatched Khurram, who after reaching there successfully concluded peace with the Deccanis.

If we consider the two campaigns of Khurram in the Deccan, it would appear that 'he had only followed up the success of Abdur Rahim with a temporary truce'. Actually not an inch of territory was added beyond the limits of 1605.

The turning point in the career of the family group was the second visit of Khurram to the Deccan. In 1622 when Khurram began to contemplate rebellion he entered into an alliance with Abdur Rahim and other important nobles serving him in the Deccan.[3]

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1. Tuzuk, 305, 321-22; Iqbalnama, 160-61.

2. Tuzuk, 322; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 700-701, Shahnawaz Khan writes that Jahangir while despatching Khurram said to him that as Akbar had by a hurried march rescued Khan-i Azam when besieged by the Gujaratis, he should now rescue the Khan Khanan from his dangerous position.

3. A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle, tr. & ed. Brij Narain and S.R. Sharma, Calcutta, 1957, 55-57 states that after the invasion of Qandhar by the Persians, Khurram called the important commanders present in the Deccan and asked them to take an oath that they would be true to him. He adds 'he wanted to rebel against his father and expected that they would gird him with the sword of his father'. De Laet had written that Abdur Rahim was a party to the murder of Sultan Khusrau. See Z.K., I, 54 for Abdur Rahim's relation with Malik Amber and Burhan-ul Mulk.

The Persian attack on Qandhar in 1621 and the events which followed led Khurram to unfurl the standard and revolt. Khurram marched from Mandu along with Abdur Rahim and his son Darab Khan and some other commanders towards Agra and Delhi. Having failed to surprise Agra they proceeded towards Delhi but they were defeated at Bilochpur. Many of Khurram's close associates now deserted him. Mirza Manuchahar, son of Shahnawaz Khan, defected and joined Parvez and Mahabat Khan. Abdur Rahim too entered into correspondence with Mahabat Khan. One of such letters written to Mahabat Khan was intercepted by Taqi. Hence along with his sons he was put to prison.[1]

In the meantime Abdullah Khan acting as Khurram's deputy was defeated in Gujarat and Khurram's negotiation with Ahmadnagar ended in a fiasco. He found his prospects very poor, as his army began to melt away. At this time Abdur Rhim who was still in correspondence with Mahabt Khan offered to go to him and negotiate a settlement with the imperialists leaving his sons and other family members as hostages. He also suggested that if he failed in his mission, the Prince should contact Adil Shah of Bijapur, Qutb Shah of Golkunda, Nizam Shah and Malik Ambar, collect fifty thousand horses and foot and invade the Mughal empire.[2]

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1. Tuzuk, 370-71; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 165b; Z.K., I, 49. For more details see, 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

2. Iqbalnama, 211; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 166b; Z.K., I, 50. Jahangir in his memoirs writes that Khurram on his own first sent Sarbuland Ray, son of Ray Bhoj Hara to negotiate with Mahabat Khan, but Mahabat Khan refused to discuss anything until Abdur Rahim personally came, he sent him. Cf. Tuzuk, 378-79.

Seeing no other recourse open to him, Khurram decided to release Abdur Rahim. Khurram made him swear on the Holy Quran and said, 'my times are hard, my position difficult, I make myself over to you and make you guardian of my honour. You must act so that I no longer go under contempt and confusion'.[1] Darab Khan, his son, and other family members were kept as hostages for their father's fidelity. When the news of the peace negotiation became known to Khurram's commander, Bairam Beg, who was defending the fords on the Narbada, he began to lose his vigilance. Taking advantage of it, the imperialists crossed over and fell upon the rebels. Hence taking cognisance of the changed situation, Abdur Rahim joined Mahabat Khan.[2]

With the desertion of Abdur Rahim and further advance of the imperial army, the situation became alarming for the prince. He immediately crossed the Tapti and proceeded towards Orissa and Bengal passing through Golkunda territory. During the march Darab Khan, his sons and nephews remained under the custody of the Prince. After the conquest of Bengal, Darab Khan was pardoned, he was raised to the rank of 6000/5000 and appointed Governor of Bengal. His son Aram Bakhsh and Shakar Shikan

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1. Tuzuk, 370-71; Z.K., I, 50-51.

2. Ibid., 371-73; Z.K., I, 50-51 adds that Bairam Beg was in league with Abdur Rahim. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 167a; A Dutch Chronicle, 66 adds that Abdur Rhim wrote to Bairam Beg that he was successful in negotiating a peace treaty. His aim was to arrest the prince to Mahabat Khan. See also De Laet, 212.

son of Shahnawaz Khan were given rank of 1000 and 1000/1000 respectively. A nephew and Mirza Afarsiyab son of Darab Khan were also promoted to the rank of 1000 and left in Bengal to serve under him. However, Aram Bakhsh, sons and daughters of Shahnawaz Khan and wife of Darab Khan were kept in surveillance as a precaution by Shahjahan.[1]

When the forces of Shahjahan were defeated at Manikpur and Allahabad and retreated to Banaras, Shahjahan summoned Darab Khan with all the forces that he had at his command. Darab Khan despatched a fleet of boats and one thousand of his troopers under his son Mirza Afarsiyab to serve the prince but 'showed his inability to come personally with a false plea of an impending 'Mag' raid.[2] The author of '<u>Baharistan-i Gharbi</u> states that about this time three letters, two written by Darab Khan to his son Aram Bakhsh who was serving under Shahjahan and the third by Abdur Rahim to Darab Khan, were intercepted by the servants of the Prince. The contents of these letters clearly indicate that Darab Khan was planning to rejoin the imperial service.[3]

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1. Mirza Nathan, <u>Baharistan-i Gharbi</u>, tr. M.I. Bohra, Assam, 1936, II, 690, 92, 94-95. <u>Iqbalnama</u> & <u>Z.K.</u>, I, 51-52 mention only about Darab Khan's appointment as Governor of Bengal.

2. <u>Baharistan-i Gharbi</u>, II, 709, 734, 749.

3. <u>Ibid</u>., II, 737, 39.

Having again been defeated by the imperialists in the battle near river Tons, Shahjahan retreated to Rohtas and sent an account of his reverses to Darab Khan asking him to hasten to Garhi. Darab Khan expressed his inability to reach Garhi as he was surrounded by the local zamindars.[1] The auther of Baharistan-i Ghaibi believes that Darab Khan was in league with the zamindars and deliberately avoided to come to Shahjahan.[2] Shahjahan treated this as an act of treachery and while returning towards the Deccan, handed over his son and nephew to Abdullah Khan, who put them both to death.[3]

After the conquest of Bengal by the imperial army, Mahabat Khan wrote to the zamindars to arrest Darab Khan. Later on upon the orders of the Emperor he was executed.[4]

Abdur Rahim was not treated well after joining the camp of Parvez and Mahabat Khan. Jahangir's statement that Mahabat Khan was interested only in dissociating him from Khurram, seems to be correct.

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1. Iqbalnama, 238; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 183a. De Laet, 220-21; Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 766-67.

2. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 771-72.

3. Iqbalnama, 238; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 183ab. Mirza Nathan says that Abdullah Khan on his own part put to death 1000 people who were suspected of treachery. Aram Bakhsh, son of Darab Khan, was one of them. Cf. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 784-85.

4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 16-17.

He was immediately arrested and put in a jail close to the camp of Prince Parvez.[1] His daughter Janan Begum who was married to Prince Daniyal was asked to remain with him. A few armed soldiers were also also deputed to watch him. When Parvez and Mahabat Khan marched towards Bengal and Bihar, they sent Abdur Rahim to the Court in company of Arab Dast Ghaib who was deputed by the Emperor to summon him. When he reached the Court, the Emperor treated him favourably, saying mildly, "Whatever had happened was not to be ascribed to his own will but to the incrutable decrees of Heaven". He ordered the officers to admit him to his usual place among the nobles at the Court. Soon after he was restored to the title of Khan Khanan, assigned a jagir in Qanauj and granted rupees one lac in cash.[2]

Mahabat Khan's close association with Parvez during the rebellion of Khurram and his successes against the rebels were looked upon with great suspicion in the court specially by Nur Jahan. Hence, Fidai Khan was despatched to Parvez with orders transferring Mahabat Khan to Bengal. Abdur Rahim's restoration to his old position may be viewed in the light of this new situation at the Court.[3] However, when

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1. Tuzuk, 378-79.

2. Iqbalnama, 244-45, 47; Z.K., I, 57-58.

3. Iqbalnama, 245, it may be mentioned that Fidai Khan was despatched with the orders of the transfer of Mahabat Khan before Abdur Rahim was summoned to the Court. Also see chapter on of 'Mahabat Khan'.

Mahabat Khan came to the Court, and carried out his coup, he apologised to Abdur Rahim for his past behaviour, but Abdur Rahim showed him little favour and proceeded towards his jagirs[1] In the meantime Mahabat Khan got hold of the Emperor and ordered Abdur Rahim to come to Lahore. He also ordered Sayyid Bahwa the Governor of Delhi to prevent him from proceeding further. Abdur Razzaq Mamuri and Balbhadr Kachhwaha Shekhawat with 400 horses were alsodeputed to arrest him.[2] But before he could be arrested, Mahabat Khan had fallen from power.

When Mahabat Khan had revolted, Abdur Rahim who was greatly aggrieved against him, was nominated to lead the campaign against him. The Emperor transferred most of the mahals from Mahabat Khan's jagir to Abdur Rahim and ordered him to march to Ajmer to chastise Mahabat Khan.[3]

Before the campaign could really begin, Abdur Rahim died at the age of seventy two in the end of Jahangir's 21st regnal year (1627).[4] In spite of the formal restoration of his notice and the

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1. Z.K., I, 58.
2. Iqbalnama, 269 ; Z.K., I, 59.
3. Iqbalnama, 279-80; Z.K., I, 59-60.
4. Iqbalnama, 287.

important charge given to him, towards the end of his career, at his death his family hardly held any power in the Empire. It was a notable victim of Shahjahan's rebellion, and did not regain its status or influence in the succeeding reign.[1]

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1. Abul Al-Hamid Lahauri, Badshahnama, ed. Maulvi Kabir Al-Din Ahmad & Abdur Al-Rahim, Bibliotheca Indica, 1867, II, 121. Mirza Manuchahar, son of Shahnawaz Khan, who had joined Mahabat Khan and Parvez during the rebellion of Shahjahan, was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000 after the accession. But nothing more is known about him or any other member of the family during the entire reign of Shahjahan.

Chapter II

THE FAMILY OF SHAMSUDDIN ATKA

The family of Shamsuddin - or the "Atka Khail" as commonly referred to in contemporary sources was one of the largest family group in the Mughal nobility during the reign of Akbar and the early years of Jahangir's reign. They were closely connected with Mughal ruling family in India from the time of Humayun and continued to enjoy a prominent position until Jahangir's accession. The main reason for their sudden rise in the hierarchy, it seems, was their special relationship with the ruling family by virtue of two of its members being the Atkas (foster father) and Kokas (foster brother) of Akbar.[1] There were certain other such families at the Mughal court under Akbar but none rose to as high a position as the family of Shamsuddin Atka in power and prestige.[2]

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1. Akbarnama, I, 14, as Abul Fazl puts it in his own style: "Sharif Khan related that when his brother Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan Atka was in Ghaznin, in the 22nd year of his age, he saw in a dream that the moon came into his arms. He related the fact to his venerable father Mir Yar Muhammad Ghaznavi who was a spiritually minded householder and the latter rejoiced at the happy appearance of the auspicious circumstances and interpreted it to mean that God would, one day, bestow a great privilege upon him which would be the means of exalting their family. And so it turned out, for by the blessing of that full Moon of glory of the heaven (Akbar) the family was raised from the nadir of the dust to the zenith of heaven". See also Ibid., 15.

2. During the early years of Akbar's reign, families so connected with Akbar were those of Maham Anaga and later on of Khwaja Maqsud Hirati. The latter had two sons Safi Khan Koka and Zain Khan Koka who became quite important. For Maham Anaga, see chapters on 'The Family of Bairam Khan' and 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'. For the biography of Saif Khan and Zain Khan see A.K., I, 123, Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 362-70, 373-75.

The matrimonial relations contracted by the Atka Khail with the imperial family further enhanced their positions. During the reign of Akbar the Atka Khail was numerically one of the largest family group; we have prepared a family chart which is given in the Appendix.[1] The total _mansabs_ of the family were also the highest as compared to the other family groups of Akbar's reign. A list of _mansab_ holders belonging to the Atka Khail has also been given in the Appendix.[2]

Shamsuddin Atka belonged to Ghaznin and was son of Mir Yar Muhammad a 'spiritually minded householder'.[3] Shamsuddin and his clansmen came to India with Mirza Kamran and were present in the fateful battle of Qanauj. He saved Humayun's life when he was in danger of being drowned while crossing the Ganges after the battle. Humayun took him into personal service after reaching Lahore and 'exalted him with princely favour'.[4] Sometime afterwards, Humayun promised Shamsuddin as a mark of recognition of his service that his wife would have the privilege of nursing the child that Hamida Banu was expecting. Shamsuddin's wife duly served Akbar after

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1. Appendix 'B', Family chart.
2. Appendix 'A', List of nobles.
3. _Akbarnama_, I, 14.
4. Jauhar Aftabchi, _Tazkirat-ul Waqiat_, (Rotograph), B.M. Rieu, I, 14b, 27b - 28ab; _Akbarnama_, I, 166-68; _Muntakhab_, III, 308-09.

his birth, as nurse, and was styled Jiji Anaga while Shamsuddin was designated 'Atka'.[1]

When Humayun journeyed to Iran from Mastang (Dec. 1543) Shamsuddin, his wife and certain other nobles were left behind in charge of Akbar. Immediately after the departure of Humayun, Mirza Askari reached Mastang and took Akbar, Maham Anaga, Shamsuddin and others under his custody and brought them to Qandhar.[2] After sometime when in 1545 Humayun returned from Persia, and marched to Qandahar, Shamsuddin along with Prince Akbar was brought to Kabul from Qandahar and put into prison. During the peruod when Kabul changed hands between Mirza Kamran and Humayun, Shamsuddin remained with the Prince and under great strains served him faithfully.[3] When after the final conquest of Kabul, Akbar was assigned Ghaznin under the tutelage of Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud, Shamsuddin was ordered to accompany the Prince.[4] It seems that during this period other members of Shamsuddin's family also joined Humayun's service. No other relation of Shamsuddin had entered Humayun's service

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1. Akbarnama, I, 44; Abul Fazl states 'His Majesty Jahanbani Jannat Ashiyani shortly before the rising of this light of fortune (Akbar).... made him hopeful of eternal bliss by promising his ..... consort (who has now the lofty title of Jiji Anaga) should be clothed with the glorious head dress .... by obtaining the auspicious service of nursing this new fruit of the spring tide of sovereignty and fortune'. (Beveridge's tr., p.130).
2. Akbarnama, I, 186-94; Muntakhab, I, 443; Tabaqat, II, 57- 5.
3. Bayazid, 78; Humayun Nama, 79; Akbarnama, I, 258-59.
4. Akbarnama, I, 306, 315-16, 321-23.

after the battle of Qanauj. The author of the Ma'asir-ul Umara, in the biography of Mir Muhammad Khan-i Kalan states that he distinguished himself in the company of Mirza Kamran and in attendance on the stirrups of Humayun, but no exact date is given of when he joined Humayun's service.[1] It is also not known when Qutubuddin Khan and Sharif Khan joined Humayun.[2] However, when Humayun embarked on his expedition to India as many as eleven members of this family may be noticed in the list of officers provided by Bayazid Bayat. But the list of high officers accompanying Humayun, provided by Abul Fazl does not contain even a single member of the family. It may be suggested that the Atkas held minor position among nobles and were more or less members of the personal staff attached to Prince Akbar, and so were not included in Abul Fazl's list. Bayazid, on the other hand, includes even menial servants.[3]

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1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 211-16; Z.K., I, 213, gives no information in this context.

2. For Qutubuddin Khan and Sharif Khan's biographies, see Z.K., I, 213 ; Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, 56-59, II, 601-603.

3. Bayazid, 176-87. The following Atkas of Akbar accompanied Humayun to India.
   (1) Mir Shamsuddin Atka
   (2) Yusuf Muhammad Khan s/o Shamsuddin Atka
   (3) Qutubuddin Muhammad Khan brother of Shamsuddin Atka
   (4) Mir Sharif Ghaznavi brother of Shamsuddin Atka
   (5) Shah Muhammad Ghaznavi brother of Shamsuddin Atka
   (6) Mir Muhammad Ghaznavi brother of Shamsuddin Atka
   (7) Fazil Muhammad s/o Shah Muhammad
   (8) Naurang Khan s/o Qutubudddin Khan
   (9) Baz Bahadur s/o Mir Sharif Ghaznavi
   (10) Gujar Khan s/o Qutubuddin Khan
   (11) Farrukh Khan s/o Shah Muhammad

   For Abul Fazl's list, see Akbarnama, I, 342-43.

Shamsuddin remained with Akbar during Humayun's campaign in India and was present at the battle of Sarhind.[1] After reaching Delhi, Humayun distributed *jagirs* to his officers; *sarkar* Hissar Firoza and its neighbouring *parganas* were assigned to the servants of Akbar. Shamsuddin was also assigned a *jagir* in that region.[2] He remained in the service of Akbar till the death of Humayun.[3]

The brief account of the family of Shamsuddin during the reign of Humayun indicates that they were insignificant among the nobles. As a matter of fact they could not achieve the position of a noble and remained to the status of the personal servants of Akbar.

After the accession of Akbar even while Bairam Khan was functioning as Regent, the Atka Khail, the family of Maham Anaga and certain other nobles began to acquire influence by virtue of being personal servants of the Emperor.[4] It appears that Bairam Khan himself was conscious of it. Apparently on that account as he was not very sure

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1. *Akbarnama*, I, 346-50; *Muntakhab*, I, 460-61.

2. *Akbarnama*, I, 351.

3. *Ibid.*, 352. The Atkas fought against Rustam Khan Lohani at Hissar. Shamsuddin also went to join Akbar when Bairam Khan was made Akbar's guardian in place of Abul Ma'ali and was with Akbar when news of Humayun's death was received at Kalanur. *Akbarnama*, I, 354-57; Tabaqat, II, 37.

4. See section on 'The Family of Bairam Khan'.

of their support, Shamsuddin and certain other nobles were despatched, soon after the accession, to Kabul to bring the royal ladies.[1]

In 1557 Shamsuddin and Munim Khan along with the royal ladies started towards India. When they reached Jalalabad, they were informed of the ascendancy obtained by Bairam Khan and the execution of Tardi Beg at his command. On this account Munim Khan postponed his visit;[2] but Shamsuddin and his brethren continued their journey, came to the court along with the ladies and presented themselves before Akbar at Mankot.[3] During the siege of Mankot, Akbar sent Shamsuddin to negotiate with Sikandar, the Afghan leader. At the same time Shamsuddin and his relations seem to have been granted <u>jagirs</u> in the Panjab.[4]

Soon after the arrival of the royal ladies and Shamsuddin from Kabul a struggle became at the court. A group was formed of such nobles who were among the personal servants of Akbar when he was a prince and were raised to higher position after his accession (particularly the

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1. Bayazid, 208; <u>Akbarnama</u>, I, 365-67, II, 17; <u>Muntakhab</u>, II, 12; <u>Tabaqat</u>, II, 128.

2. Bayazid, 213, 217-19, 221; <u>Akbarnama</u>, II, 55.

3. <u>Akbarnama</u>, II, 58-59; <u>Tabaqat</u>, II, 133-34.

4. Shamsuddin Atka has not been mentioned by any of the chroniclers till Bairam Khan's dismissal when he is reported to have been stationed at Bhera. cf. <u>Akbarnama</u>, II, 95; <u>Tabaqat</u>, II, 134-45.

family of Maham Anaga and Shamsuddin). They were unhappy with the immense powers enjoyed by Bairam Khan and his associates.[1] Shamsuddin by virtue of being close to the Emperor and having a large following, played a very important role. Attempts were made x by them to wean Akbar away from the tutelage of Bairam Khan.[2] When the camp was still at Mankot, the affair of the elephant took place. Bairam Khan protested to Maham Anaga considering the incident as an attempt on his life. He believed that the elephants were let loose against his tent at the suggestion of Akbar. He added that Akbar was made to believe by certain 'mischief mongers' that some offences were committed by him. Maham Anaga however, persuaded him to drop the matter.[3] But Bairam Khan was not fully satisfied and when he reached Lahore, he reopened the issue and held Shamsuddin responsible for the disfavour shown to him by the Emperor.[4] It seems that Shamsuddin was not prepared for annoyinK Bairam Khan at this stage. He collected all his relations, went to Bairam Khan and assured him that he had never said anything against him and promised that in future also he would not utter a word against him.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 62, 95; Tabaqat, II, 142. For details see chapter on 'The Family of Bairam Khan'.
2. Akbarnama, II, 59-60; Tabaqat, II, 142. Nizamuddin writes 'At every opportunity they said to His Majesty words which might produce disfavour in his mind (towards Bairam Khan).
3. Akbarnama, II, 60; Tabaqat, II, 134-35.
4. Akbarnama, II, 62.
5. Ibid.

After this incident we have no information about the Atkas as forthcoming in the account of the next three years and it may be presumed that Bairam Khan did not give them any important post nor did they stay at the court. Apparently they served in the Panjab; and Shamsuddin is known to have held Bhera in _jagir_. But the subsequent events suggest that the Atkas and the group of Maham Anaga continued to work in close cooperation; and under their influence Akbar dismissed Bairam Khan from the office of _Vakil_.[1] Along with other loyal officers Shamsuddin was also summoned to court. He was ordered to proceed immediately to Lahore from Bhera, assume charge of the city of Lahore and leaving his elder brother Mir Muhammad in-charge of Lahore, come to Delhi.[2] At his arrival Shamsuddin was warmly received and awarded the standard and _tuman togh_ previously held by Bairam Khan. He was also entrusted with government of the Panjab. The office of _Vakil_ was not given to him; it seems to have been held by Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan and Maham Anaga.[3] This was probably resented by Shamsuddin; and he and

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1. _Akbarnama_, II, 93-94, Abul Fazl writes that Akbar had decided to punish Bairam Khan and assume the reins of government in his own hands; and so he set out for Delhi. But the statements of Badauni and Nizamuddin seem to be more correct. They both assert that Maham Anaga and others were responsible for the plan to overthrow Bairam Khan. See _Muntakhab_, II, 35-36, III, 190; _Tabaqat_, II, 143. For more details, see chapter on 'The Family of Bairam Khan'. See also, Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal Court Politics during Bairam Khan's Regency', _Medieval India - A Miscellany_, Vol. I, 31-32; _Life of Munim Khan_, 49-50.

2. _Akbarnama_, II, 95.

3. _Ibid._, II, 95-96.

Maham Anaga soon fell out with each other. Their relations were further strained over the choice of person who should be given the command of the expedition against Bairam Khan. Apparently Maham Anaga and her associates urged the Emperor to lead the campaign personally; but despite their opposition the command was given to Shamsuddin.[1] While the campaign was in progress they accused him of deliberately moving slowly and providing Bairam Khan with an opportunity to fly.[2] However, Bairam Khan was defeated and his relations were either killed or taken prisoner.[3] After the victory Shamsuddin was 'exalted with princely favour and the choicest partsof the Panjab were assigned to him and his brethren'.[4] About the same time Munim Khan came from Kabul and was appointed Vakil.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 110, 119; Abul Qasim Namakin, Munshat-i Namakin, MS: Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, 20a - 22b. A royal letter dated July 1560, addressed to certain nobles in the Panjab. This indicates that Shamsuddin Atka, was a joint commander against Bairam Khan. Muhammad Qasim and Mahdi Qasim also held important positions in the expeditionary force. Tabaqat, II, 145-47, Nizamuddin makes no reference to this controversy.

2. Akbarnama, II, 119-20; Letter of Atka Khan to Akbar.

3. Ibid., 112, Bairam Khan was defeated near Sultanpur on August 23, 1560; Bayazid, 226; Tabaqat, II, 147-48.

4. Akbarnama, II, 115-16 Tabaqat, II, 148.

5. Ibid., 114; Ibid., 148.

These favours could not satisfy the ambitions of Shamsuddin because he coveted the office of Vakil for himself. Sometimes after the appointment of Munim Khan, Shamsuddin wrote a letter to Akbar. He openly accused Maham Anaga and her associates of creating problems during the campaign against Bairam Khan. He pointed out that after the victory, all those persons who participated in the campaign against Bairam Khan were given presents and pensions 'tenfold more than their service'. But he complained that Yusuf Muhammad's award of one crore dams remained only on paper because no jagir was assigned to him. Similarly he (Shamsuddin) was also assigned one crore dams, but a jagir carrying only 40 lakhs dams per year was assigned tohim. In the end he requested that as Bairam Khan's rank and other titles have already been awarded to him, the office of Vakil should also be conferred on him.[1]

Shamsuddin came from the Panjab to Agra in November 1561.[2] He was given the title of Azam Khan and was entrusted with the task of

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1. The letter was written presumably in May 1560, Akbarnama, II, 119-20. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 531-35. Shahnawaz Khan also refers to a letter written by Atka Khan to Akbar from Lahore. He writes... 'as he had rendered valuable service in confronting Bairam Khan he ought to have received this appointment'. Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 667-68, Akbar had earlier promised tuman togh to Munim Khan, but it seems that after having decided to appoint him Vakil, the king considered it prudent to satisfy the vanity of Shamsuddin by conferring upon him the prestigious standards till then enjoyed by Bairam Khan.

2. Akbarnama, II, 149; Tabaqat, II, 155.

reorganising the army and the finances of the Empire. He was asked to solve the political problems with which the empire was faced. The Emperor further entrusted him with the task of devising ways and means for the welfare of the peasantry(*raiyat*).[1] Probably in doing so Akbar wanted to vest the highest authority in the hands of Shamsuddin, without formally dismissing the *Vakil*. But the concentration of power in the hands of Shamsuddin invoked jealousy of Maham Anaga who considered herself as the *de facto* Regent of the Empire. Munim Khan also became jealous of Shamsuddin. Hence the arrangement could not work satisfactorily and soon afterwards Shamsuddin was formally appointed *Vakil*.[2]

The appointment of Shamsuddin as Vakil was naturally greatly resented by Maham Anaga, Munim Khan and certain other nobles close with them. Their relations further deteriorated when certain administrative measures (scrutiny of *jagirs*) were taken up by Shamsuddin.[3] As the factional struggle at the court intensified, Adham Khan's rashness added fuel to the fire.[4] Shamsuddin while transacting state business in his

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1. *Akbarnama*, II, 174; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, 531-35. Also see, *Life of Munim Khan*, 66-67, 76-77.

2. Shamsuddin had been referred as *Vakil* in the sources but it is difficult to find out the date of his appointment. *Ain*, I (tr.) 595; *Akbarnama*, II, 151, 180. *Life of Munim Khan*, 64n.3.

3. *Akbarnama*, II, 179; *Iqbalnama*, 171. For a detailed discussion on these reforms, see *Life of Munim Khan*, 66 n.1.

4. Haji Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i Akbar* , Rampur 1962, 70, Arif Qandhari writes "Adham Khan was also captivated by the task of the envious people. Exchange of insults began. The serpent of selfish opposition, which had been hidden in the ravine of courtesies, opened its tongue. The current of strife produced by the drops from the clouds of hatred came into the motion. The sapling of troubles, watered by the spring of injuries, grew up. The waves of unfortunate incident which had been quiet for sometime began to rise. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, 70 and Farishta, I, 252 also support Arif Qandhari's statement that there was long drawn struggle which finally resulted in the murder of Shamsuddin.

office was murdered by Adham Khan, who was believed to have done so at the instigation of Munim Khan, Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan and certain other nobles.[1]

When the murder of Shamsuddin became known to Atka Khail Yusuf Muhammad, the eldest son of the murdered Khan immediately armed himself and collected his clansmen to punish Adham Khan and Maham Anaga. They did not believe that Adham Khan had been killed by Akbar until they were shown the dead body of Adham Khan. Akbar personally consoled members of the Atka family and 'promoted them to higher ranks'.[2] The ill-feeling of the Atka Khail against Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, Munim Khan and other conspirators would have led to bloodshed, had the Atkas not been removed from the court. Accordingly, Mir Muhammad, Qutubuddin Khan and Sharif Khan, the brothers of Shamsuddin along with the other _jagirdars_ of the Panjab were ordered to help Kamal Khan Gakhar to expel Sultan Adam from the Gakhar country. After the successful completion of the campaign, they returned to their _jagirs_.[3]

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1. _Akbarnama_, II, 179-80; (tr. 278). Abul Fazl while discussing the flight of Munim Khan clearly states that "his motives in instigating Adham Khan was that after this affair the binding and loosing of the transaction of the sublime family and the control of all matters political and financial would be in his hands". _Tabaqat_, II, 158; _Muntakhab_, II, 52 also maintain that Shamsuddin's murder was the result of a conspiracy of Munim Khan. Mr Iqtidar Alam Khan, however, rejects that there was any conspiracy. Cf. _Life of Munim Khan_, 66-67.

2. _Akbarnama_, II, 191-92.

3. _Akbarnama_, II, 191-94; _Tabaqat_, 159-62; _Muntakhab_, II, 54-55.

During this period the whole of the Atka clan held *jagir* in the Panjab; and Mir Muhammad was its Governor. Yusuf Muhammad and Mirza Aziz Koka remained at the court under the personal care of the Emperor and accompanied Akbar in his campaigns against Abdullah Khan Uzbek in Malwa and Ali Quli in the eastern region.[1]

While they were posted in the Panjab, Mirza Sulaiman invaded Kabul (1564). Mirza Hakim thereupon fled from his capital, crossed the Indus and requested Akbar for help. He also despatched Khwaja Beg Muhammad *Diwan* and Maqsud Khan Jauhari to Mir Muhammad the governor of the Panjab. Mir Muhammad sent Qazi Imad to Mirza Hakim 'with presents and encouraging messages'.[2] Akbar appointed Qutubuddin Khan as the "guardian" (*ataliq*) of Hakim and and ordered Mir Muhammad and other officers of the Panjab and Multan to join Mirza Hakim on the bank of Indus. It was ordered that after establishing Mirza Hakim at Kabul, Qutubuddin was to remain as his guardian while the other officers were to return to their *jagirs*. When the imperial officers along with Mirza Hakim reached Jalalabad, Mirza Sulaiman gave up the siege of Kabul and fled to Badakhshan. Mirza Hakim occupied Kabul without any resistance.[3]

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1. *Akbarnama*, II, 223-229, 252-53, 291; *Muntakhab*, II, 96. For details of Yusuf Muhammad and Mirza Aziz Koka's activities during the Uzbek revolt, see chapter on 'The Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman'.
2. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, 616b-617ab; *Akbarnama*, II, 237-39; *Muntakhab*, II, 71-72.
3. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, 617; *Akbarnama*, II, 239-42; *Tabaqat*, II, 178; *Muntakhab*, II, 72-73.

After arranging the affairs of Kabul, Mir Muhammad sent back the officers under Qutubuddin to India and himself assumed the office of Mirza's _Vakil_. This was in violation of imperial orders by which Qutubuddin had been appointed the Mirza's guardian and Mir Muhammad was actually asked to return to Hindustan. However, soon afterwards, differences arose between Mir Muhammad and Mirza Hakim, and their relations finally broke down when Mirza Hakim married his sister to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi against the wishes of Mir Muhammad. Ultimately, he left Kabul in disgust without intimating anybody and after reaching Hindustan sent a detailed report about the happenings at Kabul to the court. Abul Fazl while summarising these events considers his action uncalled for and holds him responsible for the Mirza's affairs becoming seditious.[1] About the same time Yusuf Muhammad, eldest son of Shamsuddin, died.[2]

In 1566 Mirza Hakim having been expelled by Mirza Sulaiman again fled from Kabul and sued for imperial help. The Emperor immediately

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1. _Tarikh-i Alfi_, 617b; _Akbarnama_, II, 242-43. It seems Mir Muhammad could not reconcile himself with the idea that a younger brother was given a higher status in the presence of the elder brother. Hence disregarding the imperial orders he took the office of Mirza's _Vakil_ for himself. _Muntakhab_, II, 88 writes that after taking possession of Kabul, Mirza Hakim dismissed the nobles who were sent to help him to India; and Mir Muhammad becoming unhappy after Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi's supremacy also came back to the Panjab.

2. _Akbarnama_, II, 272; _Tabaqat_, II, 195-96. Yusuf Muhammad died at Delhi May 24, 1566.

ordered the Panjab officers to proceed to his assistance. But in the meantime Faridun, a maternal uncle of Mirza Hakim who was at the court for sometime and was on the way to Kabul, met him and persuaded him to invade Lahore.[1] In the meantime Sultan Ali and Hasan Khan, two other rebels from the court, joined Faridun and convinced the Mirza that the conquest of Lahore was very easy.[2] According to Abul Fazl, Mirza Hakim himself thought that perhaps he might bring over the Panjab officers at his side.[3] Apparently the Uzbek rebellion of the east and the hostile attitude of the old Turani nobles gave him hopes. However, the Panjab officers, Mir Muhammad, Qutubuddin Khan and Sharif Khan, strengthened the defences of the fort of Lahore and sent reports to the court. Akbar himself started for Lahore on 17th November 1566. When he reached the bank of Sutlaj, Mirza Hakim fled from Lahore. Qutubuddin Khan and other officers were deputed to the borders of the Empire to resume the peasantry which had suffered greatly at the hands of the invaders.[4]

While Akbar was at Lahore, the Uzbeks again rebelled and read the Khutba in the name of Mirza Hakim. The Emperor hurriedly arranged for

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1. Akbarnama, II, 275-76; Muntakhab, II, 89-90.

2. Badauni, II, 90. Hasan Khan was brother of Shahab Khan.

3. Akbarnama, II, 276. Nizamuddin and Badauni's accounts suggest the same opinion. See Tabaqat, II, 201; Badauni, II, 90.

4. Tarikh-i Akbari, 142-43; Akbarnama, II, 274-77; Tabaqat, II, 198-203; Muntakhab, II, 90-91.

the pacification of the Panjab and marched back to Agra. Hence Panjab, as before, was given to Mir Muhammad, Qutubuddin and their sons and brothers under the supreme command of Mir Muhammad.[1]

After suppressing the rebellion of the Uzbek nobles, Akbar transferred the Atka Khail from the Panjab in 1568. While discussing this measure, Abul Fazl remarks that 'whenever a large body is gathered together of one mind and one speech, and show much push and energy, it is proper to disperse them first for their own good and secondly for the welfare of the community'.[2]

It appears the revolt of the Uzbek nobles made Akbar more wary of clan-factionalism within the nobility, and specially of such groups as had obtained or concentrated much power in their hands.[3] The Atkas had a large clan following and all the leading nobles of the family held *jagirs* in the Panjab since 1557. Akbar himself, once said that they had grown quite powerful, and considered their transfer from the Panjab as one of his greatest achievements.[4] Moreover, during Mir Muhammad's

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1. *Akbarnama*, II, 285-86; *Tabaqat*, II, 203; *Muntakhab*, II, 92-93.

2. *Akbarnama*, II, 332-33; *Tabaqat*, II, 223 and *Muntakhab*, II, 106 briefly mention transfer but make no comments. For the detailed comment of Abul Fazl in this regard, see 'Conclusion'.

3. See chapter on 'The Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman'.

4. Bayazid, 253.

stay in Kabul and at the time of Mirza Hakim's invasion of the Panjab, according to Abul Fazl, 'wonderful stories had been told about those loyal men.'[1] But there is no actual indication of any disloyal action on their part.

Apparently some suspicions and, even more, a desire to take precautions, lay behind the transfer of the Atka Khail from the Panjab. They were summoned to the court and fresh assignments were given to them. Mir Muhammad, Qutubuddin Khan and Sharif Khan were assigned Sambhal, Malwa and Qannj respectively.[2] Mirza Aziz Koka's *jagir* of Dipalpur, however, was not transferred. Mir Muhammad was again transferred to Nagaur in 1570. This shows that the Atkas were not only transferred but while giving them fresh appointments, they were deliberately so posted as to be placed at a distance from each other. Akbar himself says that they were spread all over the Empire 'like the constellation of the Bear in the sky'.[3]

The transfer of Atkas from the Panjab naturally reduced the power and prestige of the family. But Mirza Aziz Koka the playmate of Akbar,

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1. *Akbarnama*, II, 332. The actual words are as follows: 'Although previously to this viz. when Khan Kilan had gone to Kabul, or when Mirza Hakim had with a few troops besieged Lahore, wonderful stories had been told about these loyal men, they had not been credited by His Majesty'. But *Akbarnama*, III, 332-33;
2. √*Muntakhab*, II, 106. Mir Muhammad Khan Kalan was given charge of Sambhal and Bareli.

3. Bayazid, 253.

enjoyed the same position; we have seen that his *jagir* was not transferred. The fact of his great power and influence at the court seems to have been well known even outside the country. A little before the conquest of Gujarat (1572), Abdullah Khan Uzbek the Shaibanid ruler wrote a letter to Akbar, in which he particularly mentioned Munim Khan and Mirza Aziz Koka and also sent them presents to seek their help and cooperation in laying the foundation of friendship with Akbar.[1]

At this stage it may be suggested, keeping in view the later events of the reign *vis a vis* the Atka Khail, that Akbar was trying to break the power of this family although at the same time its most prominent member, Mirza Aziz Koka, was being raised to a very high status. The case of the Atka Khail and Aziz Koka is actually illustrative of Akbar's policy towards his nobility. Without destroying any important family, nor even deflating its status, he yet managed to establish his own authority and eliminate any possibility of challenge.[2]

In 1572 Akbar embarked on the expedition to Gujarat and Mir Muhammad Khan was sent as head of the advance guard. Along with other

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1. *Akbarnama*, II, 368; Badauni, II, 198-99. It is significant to note that about 1569-70 Aziz Koka had enough influence to intercede successfully with the Emperor on behalf of Shaikh Mubarak and his sons Faizi and Abul Fazl securing them from persecution and getting them permission to return to Agra.

2. *Akbarnama*, III, 33. See 'Conclusion' for the detailed comment of Abul Fazl in this connection.

trustworthy officers almost the whole of the Atka Khail also accompanied the Emperor. After the conquest of Gujarat[1] the government and defence of the province was entrusted to Mirza Aziz Koka. He was given the rank of 5000/5000 and the city of Ahmadabad and *parganas* of Petlad and Haveli along with several other *parganas* were assigned to him in *jagir*. The other members of the family were also assigned *jagirs* in the province. Pattan was assigned to Mir Muhammad and his sons Fazil Khan and Farrukh Khan. The *sarkar* of Baroch and its neighbouring regions were given to Qutubuddin Khan; Nauranj Khan was given Baroda. Sharif Khan and his sons Arif and Zahid were also assigned *jagirs* in Gujarat.[2]

From these appointments one may infer that Akbar reversed his earlier policy of not posting officers of one family in the same province. But a close study of these appointments will indicate that Akbar made a new experiment in the same direction and used yet another method to break the strength of family ties. In the presence of senior members of the family (Mir Muhammad and Qutubuddin Khan) Mirza Aziz Koka was appointed Governor of Gujarat and his a uncles were posted to serve under him.

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1. For the details of conquest of Gujarat see *Akbarnama*, II, 372, III, 8-9, 17-18, 24-27; *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, 102-103.

2. *Akbarnama*, III, 33; *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, 102-103, provide the details of appointment. *Badauni*, II, 142, and *Tabaqat*, II, 253, refer to the appointment of Mirza Aziz Koka as Governor of Gujarat and assignment of other cities in *jagirs* to Atka Khail. But it is significant that both Nizamuddin and Badauni make no adverse comment on the appointment of Mirza Aziz Koka over his uncles.

Such an appointment seems to have been unprecedented, and apparently attracted criticism. While justifying the appointment, Abul Fazl writes, 'The foundation of appointment is talent and virtue and the quality of ancestors is not required'. In the same connection he adds, 'weight is given to wisdom and not to years and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty and not upon age'.[1]

In September 1575 Akbar sent Muhammad Rafi Qurchi with a farman to Mirza Aziz Koka summoning him to the court. Simultaneously a secret letter was sent to Mir Abu Turab Wali. Mirza Aziz suspected that Muhammad Rafi was carrying a secret communication and asked him about it. But the contents of the letter were not disclosed by him to Mirza Aziz.

In this letter Akbar instructed Abu Turab that contrary to his previous practice, he should regularly send confidential detailed reports on the situation in Gujarat particularly about the behaviour of Mirza Aziz Koka, Mir Muhammad and Qutubuddin. Akbar further warned Abu Turab that if out of regard for these people he avoided sending detailed reports, the Emperor would be annoyed.[2]

Mir Abu Turab felt embarrassed by this order. He did not want to complain against the Mirza and at the same time had no desire to annoy

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1. Akbarnama, III, 33. Also see 'Conclusion' for more details.
2. Abu Turab Wali, Tarikh-i Gujarat, (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909), 91-92.

the Emperor. He therefore replied that since he wanted tocome and pay his respect at the court, he would personally make a report on the situation in Gujarat.[1] Mirza Aziz was anxious to know the reply which Abu Turab had sent, but Abu Turab avoided giving him any indication. However, he (Mirza Aziz) took from Abu Turab the assurance that the latter would not make any complaint against him.[2]

Mirza Aziz started for the court with Mir Abu Turab and after stopping for a while at Pattan, he said farewell to Mir Muhammad and proceeded by forced marches to the court. This was the Mirza's last meeting with Mir Muhammad as the latter died in Pattan in December 1575.[3]

Mirza Aziz reached Fathpur on October 10, 1575. There Mir Abu Turab gave a full report to the Emperor in a way that the Emperor's suspicions regarding the administration of Gujarat were set at rest and he appeared to be satisfied.[4]

The official explanation given by Abul Fazl for the recall of Mirza is two-fold. Firstly, since Mirza Sulaiman was expected at the court, Akbar wanted the Mirza to be present at entertainments in his honour.

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1. Tarikh-i Gujarat, 92.
2. Ibid., 93.
3. Ibid., 92-93; Akbarnama, III, 163.
4. Tarikh-i Gujarat, 93.

Secondly, towards the end of 1573 Akbar had introduced the most far-reaching reforms of his reign, viz. the branding regulations (*dagh*), the conversion of imperial territories into crown land (*khalisa*) and fixing the grades of officers of State. Many of the nobles were opposed to these regulations.[1] Akbar now wanted to discuss the question of the introduction of these reforms with the Mirza and seek his cooperation.[2]

In the light of the evidence of Mir Abu Turab it appears that Akbar was a little dissatisfied with the way Mirza Aziz was handling the situation in Gujarat. It is also possible that Akbar anticipated resistance from Aziz Koka to the implementation of his reforms and hoped that by personal persuasion he could get the Mirza to cooperate.

It is, however, clear that while recalling Mirza for consultation,Akbar did not intend to remove him from the governorship of Gujarat. It was only when the Mirza fell from favour and showed no repentance that he decided fully six months after the recall of Mirza to make other final arrangement for the administration of Gujarat. Mirza Aziz expressed very strong disapproval of the new regulation about the branding of horses, the institution of Karori and referred to the

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1. *Akbarnama*, III, 69; *Iqbalnama*, II, 298; *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, 113.

2. *Ibid.*, 147; *Ibid.*; *Tabaqat*, II, 315; Badauni, II, 214-15; *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, I, 837.

distressed condition of the agriculturists. He used such harsh language that Akbar notwithstanding his affection, could not help being annoyed. He therefore decided that the Mirza should not be permitted to 'lead the nobles astray'. He was removed from service and put in virtual confinement in his garden at Agra.[1] It appears that Qutubuddin Khan and Nauranj Khan were als summoned to the court and joined the Emperor in the campaign against the Rana of Mewar in the same year. Qutubuddin Khan was also promoted to the rank of 5000.[2]

After returning from Mewar, Qutubuddin Khan and Nauranj Khan were despatched against Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh under the command of Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan. When Raja Ali Khan came to know of the advance of the army towards Asir and Burhanpur, he offered submission. But in the meantime Qutubuddin was informed of the rebellion of Muzaffar Husain Mirza at Baroch, Baroda and other places of his <u>jagir</u>. He immediately proceeded towards Gujarat. On account of his absence, there was a certain amount of trouble in the settlement of the affairs of Asir and Burhanpur.[3]

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1. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 147; <u>Muntakhab</u>, II, 214-15; <u>Mirat-i Ahmadi</u>, 113.

2. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 184, 191, 195. During the Mewar campaign both Qutubuddin and Raja Bhagwan Das were censured as they failed to capture Rana Pratap.

3. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 199; <u>Tabaqat</u>, II, 338. Details of the campaign has not been given by both the authorities.

Sharif Khan, another uncle of Mirza Aziz Koka, seems to have remained at the court; he served in the Mewar campaign between 1576 and 1578.[1]

Mirza Aziz Koka remained in confinement for about five years. A passage in the Akbarnama suggests that attempts were made to persuade him to accept Akbar's new measures. He was also promised great favours, but he declined to be swayed.[2] In 1578 Akbar sent Mir Fathullah Shirazi to summon Qutubuddin to the court and seek hishelp in persuading Mirza Aziz Koka.[3] The results of Qutubuddin's efforts have not been recorded, but it appears that from this time Mirza Aziz Koka started visiting the court. Apparently he was pardoned and favours were again bestowed on him. But in the same year a case of the murder of Mir Alauddin during his (Mirza Aziz Koka's) governorship of Gujarat was brought to the notice of the Emperor. The incident recorded by Abul Fazl

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1. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 194; <u>Muntakhab</u>, II, 242; <u>Tabaqat</u>, II, 340-41.

2. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 250. Abul Fazl writes "From the time that Mirza Koka, in full reliance on Shahanshah's kindness, had gone into retirement, the secret wish of His Majesty's loving heart was always the desire to enhance the glory of that seeker after bliss. From this thought he sent for him upon this expedition in order that if he had got rid of his illhumour, he might come to court and be encompassed with royal favours. Owing to his being full of fancies and not listening to advice he remained in the same disturbed state".

3. <u>Ibid.</u>, 250, 261.

was as follows: while he was governor of Gujarat, Mirza Aziz Koka handed over one Mir Alauddin to one of his servants upon a suspicion about his honesty. The servant on account of some personal grudge, tortured him to death. When Mirza Aziz came to know of this, he capitally punished the servant. At this time Mir Alauddin's father came from Persia and demanded justice. Hence Akbar ordered an enquiry in the matter and demanded report of their findings 'without glossing over it'.[1] In the words of Abul Fazl, 'that delicately nurtured one suspected that he had lost favour and went into retirement and won over the father of Mir Alauddin by large sums of money'.[2]

However, Qutubuddin in the same year was appointed guardian (ataliq) of Prince Salim.[3] Although the office was of little political and administrative significance, this must have raised his position considerably. He was also given command of the forces appointed to capture Portuguese ports.[4]

In 1580 Mirza Aziz Koka was pardoned; he was given the rank of 5000 which he had previously held and was appointed governor of Bengal

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1. Akbarnama, III, 266.

2. Ibid., 326.

3. Ibid., 274.

4. Ibid., 280-81; Cf. V.A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mughal, 145-46, for his expedition to Daman.

in succession to Muzaffar Khan.[1] Abul Fazl states that he was pardoned at the request of the ladies of the harem, but apparently the serious revolt of nobles in Bengal was the main reason behind his release.[2] He was despatched to quell the rebellion; but Shahbaz Khan was also sent with him.[3] It could be easily anticipated that Mirza Aziz Koka and Shahbaz Khan would not be able to work jointly in a smooth manner. Mirza Aziz Koka's hostility to the dagh system was well known and this was alleged to have been introduced at Shahbaz Khan's suggestion. Besides Mirza Aziz was very hostile to the Shaikhzadas.[4] And so, indeed, at the very outset they fell out with each other. They took their own way to deal with the situation of that region and as a result a joint campaign could not be launched against the rebels.[5] However, after some time

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1. Akbarnama, III, 326.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 314; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 285.

4. For the introduction of Dagh-o Mahall, see Muntakhab, II, 173, 190-91; For Mirza Aziz Koka's hostility to Shaikhzadas, see Mirza Aziz Koka's Arzdasht to Jahangir, discussed in the last part of this chapter.

5. On account of the independence displayed by Shahbaz Khan, Mirza Aziz Koka and Todar Mal who was also sent to assist him, left every thing to Shahbaz Khan and subsequently went to Tirhut on the pretext of subduing Bahadur but 'in reality they sought to get away from Shahbaz Khan'. On the other hand Shahbaz Khan went off to Jaunpur on the pretext of checking Masum Faramkhudi who had also revolted. For more details see Akbarnama, III, 323-25, 329-31; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 287. Also see A.J. Qaisar, 'Shahbaz Khan Kamboh', Medieval India - A Miscellany, I, 60-62.

disagreement also arose among the rebels. Taking advantage of this development, Mirza Aziz opened negotiation with the Qaqshal and won them over. Masum Khan got alarmed and fled.[1] But before the rebels could be fully liquidated, Mirza Aziz, who was unhappy with his position and the hostile attitude of Shahbaz Khan, requested the Emperor to send him to some other territory on the plea that the climate of Bengal did not suit him. The Emperor acceded to his request and appointed Shahbaz Khan as Governor of Bengal. Aziz Koka was ordered to go to his _jagir_ in Bihar.[2]

During this time Akbar promulgated certain administrative reforms. It was noticed that because of excessive burden of work in the offices and corruption in the administrative machinery, great hardship was suffered by merchants. Therefore honest and efficient officers were appointed for each department. The department 'of dyes' was given to Naurang Khan a member of the Atka family.[3] Further reforms in the administration were introduced in 1583. Princes of royal blood and leading nobles of the Empire were given various departments to administer.

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1. _Akbarnama_, III, 400-401.

2. _Ibid._, 405-407; A.J. Qaisar, 'Shahbaz Khan Kambeh', _Medieval India - A Miscellany_, I

3. _Ibid._, 396; Nauranj Khan was son of Qutubuddin Khan. See Appendix 'B'. For these administrative reforms, also see chapter on 'The Family of Bairam Khan'.

Sharif Khan Atka along with Raja Askaran was ordered to look after the property of deceased persons and hand it over to its heirs. Nauranj Khan was appointed to the department of buildings.[1] It is however difficult to explain the nature and functioning of these offices and judge whether these appointments in any way improved the position of the Atka family appreciably.

In 1583 Gujarat once again became the centre of sedition. The trouble started with the appointment of Itimad Khan as governor in place of Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan. Muzaffar Shah with the help of the retainers of Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, who were dismissed by Itimad Khan, revolted. He captured Ahmadabad and marched on to Baroda and Baroch, which were under the command of Qutubuddin Khan. Under the pressure of the rebels Qutubuddin Khan agreed to surrender the fort on the condition of safe passage. But the rebels treacherously arrested and killed him near the town of Sarnal on November 2, 1583.[2]

When Akbar was informed about the rebellion of Gujarat, Abdur Rahim son of Bairam Khan was appointed to quell the rebellion. Sharif Khan, Nauranj Khan and Zahid son of Sharif Khan who were posted

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1. Akbarnama, III, 404-405.

2. Ibid., 405-407, 421-24; Tabaqat, II, 373-74; Mirat-i Ahmadi, 122-24, 127-29; For details of the rebellion, see also chapter on 'The Family of Bairam Khan'.

in Malwa under Qulij Khan, were ordered to join Abdur Rahim. About the same time Mirza Aziz Koka came from Hajipur in Bihar (March 1584); Akbar decided to post him near the province of Gujarat and with this in view Garha and Raisen in Malwa were given to him in jagir.[1] He was orderd to go to Hajipur to collect his troops and then came to the court.[2]

After returning to the court, Mirza Aziz Koka was appointed to command a campaign against the Deccan states (in 1586). Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan and Sharif Khan from Malwa were also ordered to join him in the campaign. Mirza Aziz Koka proceeded to Handia and captured the fort of Sanoli from Nahar Rao. Now Akbar appointed him governor of Malwa.[3] But after these initial successes the campaign completely failed owing to the differences that arose between Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan and Mirza Aziz Koka first and Mirza Aziz Koka and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan later on. These differences were largely on grounds of past family feuds.[4]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 423-24
2. Ibid., 422-23, 436.
3. Ibid., 489; Z.K., I, 95.
4. Muntakhab, II, 343, 347, 361-62. 'Azam Khan gave vent to an old grudge which he had against Shahabuddin Ahmad for the murder of his father, of which he was the instigator'. Akbarnama, III, 489-91 'When the appointed officers met, there arose dissensions among them. The commander in chief became confused on account of suspicions and the work fell out of gear. Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan was vexed and went off to his jagir without leave. The commander in chief (Mirza Aziz) came after him in order to fight him. Instead of having recourse to supplications, he (Shahabuddin Ahmad) prepared for battle; though by the endeavour of prudent men a contest was averted, they did not act together'. (H. Beveridge, III, 789). Having been defeated by the combined armies of the Deccan states under Raja Ali Khan, Mirza Aziz reached Ahmadabad to seek the help of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. "The Khan Khanan considered his coming an honour and gave him a warm welcome. He quickly collected a choice force and joined him. But on account of the talk of evil men, they took a perverse course. They sent Mir Abu Turab to interview the Deccanis and to arrange for a peace, and then every one returned to his fief'. (text III, 490, Beveridge, 742). See also Tabaqat, II, 383-85; Z.K., I, 95-96.

During the same year when two co-governors were appointed over each *suba*, the Atkas were assigned only one *suba*. Mirza Aziz Koka and Nauranj Khan were given jointly the charge of Malwa as noticed already. Some other minor administrative charges were also given to them during this period. As compared to other family groups the position of the Atkas had actually declined. However, their *mansabs* were not reduced and apparently the family remained an important group at the court. In May 1587 Mirza Aziz Koka's daughter was married to Prince Murad.[1]

Mirza Aziz Koka remained in Malwa till 1589 when he was transferred to Gujarat. He was not willing to go to Gujarat and represented against his posting. But his request was turned down and was asked to leave for Gujarat immediately. Mirza Aziz considered this transfer to be equivalent to exile. During his governorship of Gujarat almost all of his sons and relations came to be posted in the *suba*. In his campaign against Muzaffar Shah, Aziz Koka was accompanied by his kinsmen, Sharif Khan, Nauranj Khan, Gujar Khan, Fidai Khan, Mirza Anwar, Mirza Abdullah and Mirza Khurram.[2]

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1. *Akbarnama*, III, 511-12. See also chapter on 'The Family of Raja Bhar Mal Kachhwaha' for a comparative position of the two families during the same period.

2. For details of Mirza Aziz Koka's activities in Gujarat, see *Akbarnama*, III, 578, 620, 628-31; *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, 151-56.

After his victory over Muzaffar Shah in 1593, he was called to the court which he had not visited for the last two years. But he believed that Akbar was unhappy with him and wanted to punish him. Hence he made a pretended march towards Diu held by the Portuguese, while dismissing Nauranj Khan and Gujar Khan to their jagirs. Then he took ship to Mecca along with his six sons and six daughters.[1]

We have no conclusive evidence in the chronicles regarding the circumstances that compelled Mirza Aziz Koka to leave India. But the reading of the letters contained in the Maktubat-i Allami[2] suggest that discontentment between Mirza Aziz and Akbar had been brewing since the introduction of the dagh regulations. It also appears that there had been an exchange of letters between Mirza Aziz and Abul Fazl in this connection. Through the study of these letters it emerges that there was some resentment in the nobility on account of the rise of a new section

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1. Akbarnama, III, 638; Mirat-i Ahmadi, 157 states that 'he could not decide to go to the Royal presence due to certain affairs mention of which is not proper'. Tabaqat, II, 422, Nizamuddin writes 'At this time some malicious persons had communicated to him some unkind words which they had said had been spoken in respect of him by Akbar'. Muntakhab, II, 386-87 give details of the causes of disagreement between Akbar and Mirza Aziz Koka. According to him religion was main aspect of differences. He also states that Mirza Aziz had not visited the court for the last six years. Z.K., I, 96 writes that Mirza Aziz had not visited the court for the last ten years.

2. In all there are four letters written to Mirza Aziz Koka contained in Maktubat-i Allami, after his departure to Mecca. Of these one was written by Abul Fazl on behalf of Akbar and the other by Abul Fazl himself. Cf. Maktubat, I, 56-57, II, 91-92, 155-56, 159-58. See also Athar Abbas Rizvi, Religious and Intellectual/History of Muslims in Akbar's Reign, Delhi 1975, 319-20.

of the nobility which had become quite powerful. In one of the letters Aziz Koka complained that his enemies had influenced the Emperor against him and sought his ruin. Akbar's new religious beliefs were also resented by a section of the nobility. Mirza Aziz Koka who was one of the oldest nobles of the Empire protested against Akbar's attempt to throw into shade the old nobility and give more importance to those who followed his policies. In a letter written to Akbar, Mirza Aziz Koka took exception to the rise of Abul Fazl, Faizi, Sadiq Khan and Qulich Khan. He went to the extent of saying that Akbar had raised Abul Fazl and Faizi to the position of Caliph Usman and Ali. He also denounced Akbar's religious beliefs and added that those who had alienated Akbar from Islam were not his friends but flatterers and time-servers. He also claimed that the Sultan of Turkey would give him the title of Azam Khan if he asked for it.[1] Abul Fazl wrote in reply to these sharp comments of Mirza Aziz clarifying his own position at the court and sought to explain the true significance of the four degrees of devotion which was expected of the royal servants.[2] He also advised him to take up the charge of Gujarat immediately and send some one on whom he had confidence to the court, so that he may privately convey to him the

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1. For the letter of Mirza Aziz Koka to Akbar see Cambridge University Library, King's College collection, MS. 149 (fol 52 b) 'C' An English translation of the letter is attached in the Appendix. See also Religious and Intellectual History of Muslims in Akbar's Reign, 319-20.

2. Maktubat, II, 156-57.

actual state of affairs and give him faithful opinion.[1]

These charges of Aziz Koka especially his complaint regarding the dominance of a new nobility at the court may be examined in the light of the position of Atka Khail itself.

As already discussed the family enjoyed a very high position from the very beginning of Akbar's reign. But after the transfer of the Atkas from the Panjab and certain other measures taken to break their family ties, the position of the family group declined. We see that since the transfer from the Panjab, no member of this family except for Mirza Aziz Koka and Sharif Khan was given charge of a suba[2] or an important post at the centre. The numerical strength of the family also continued to decline, because after the death of senior members of the family, their sons and relations were not given mansabs or mansabs given were too small to be recorded in the contemporary works.[3]

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1. Maktubat, II, 155-56. One of the reasons for Aziz Koka's annoyance was the taking away from him (Mirza Aziz Koka) the charge of affixing the imperial seal on farmans. In one of his letters Abul Fazl writes that his complaint about some one else being put in charge of affixing the imperial seal on farmans was frivolous. This duty was assigned to some other person only on account of his absence. For details, see Maktubat, II, 158.

2. Afzal Husain, 'Provincial Governors Under Akbar', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Jabalpur 1970.

3. See Infra. Also see, the two lists of nobles of Atka Khails attached to this chapter.

Thus it may be suggested that Akbar did not have full confidence in the Atkas. Presumably on that account other senior members of the family were not appointed to high posts, although their mansabs were not curtailed. But Mirza Aziz Koka had a distinct position; Akbar himself says 'a channel of milk connected him and Aziz'.[1] Apparently on that account and as a result of great influence enjoyed by him in the Imperial harem, he was able to maintain his position; although when he disagreed with the emperial policies, he was also not spared.[2]

When Akbar came to know of the flight of Mirza Aziz Koka to Mecca, he professed great regret at the latter's doing so without seeking permission of the Emperor or the approval of his mother. Akbar reassured him of imperial favours and advised him to return immediately for the sake of his mother who was unable to bear his separation. The letter concludes by saying that Akbar had long been planning to send an ambassador to the Sultan of Turkey in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them. It was therefore desired that he should return to court before the ambassador reached Turkey.[3] As a matter of fact no ambassador was sent to Turkey and this remark appears to be a threat that if he did not leave Mecca immediately, Akbar would have ask the Sultan through an

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1. Tabaqat, III, 231.

2. See Supra.

3. Maktubat, I, 56-57.

embassy to expel or punish him.

After the Mirza's departure, Akbar took care of the sons of Mirza Aziz who remained in India. Mirza Shamsi, his eldest son, was promoted to the rank of 1000 and Shadman was given the *mansab* of 500. A fertile *jagir* was also assigned to them.[1] In 1594, however, when Naurang Khan died, either no ranks were given to his sons, or those given were so low that Abul Fazl omitted any mention of them.[2]

In 1594 Mirza Aziz returned from Mecca to Gujarat and sought permission to present himself at the court.[3] According to Badauni, having 'suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharif, and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined immediately on his return, the divine faith'.[4] Abul Fazl covers the entire episode, as usual, with lofty philosophising: 'In a short space of time his heart emerged from darkness, but he remained in the state of bewilderment. He had not the effrontery to return and he could not think of staying. Suddenly he became aware again of His Majesty's graciousness, and giving up all other ideas he set out on the ocean. In twenty four days he came

1. *Akbarnama*, III, 638.

2. *Ibid.*, 651.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Muntakhab*, II, 398.

back from the port of Balawal and gathered eternal bliss by paying his devotions to Akbar. A new aspect was given to submission.'[1]

Both passages make it quite clear that Mirza Aziz accepted Akbar's new policy. His change of heart was accepted and he was given his previous rank of 5000 and offered to choose between the Panjab, Gujarat and Bihar for his _jagir_. He selected Bihar.[2] About the same time (1594) the only other surviving senior Atka noble Sharif Khan who held his _jagir_ in Malwa since 1580 was transferred to Ghaznin at his own request. He remained in commandof Ghaznin, his ancestral home, till 1602 when Shah Beg Khan was appointed in his place. Nothing further is known about him.[3]

In 1595 Mirza Aziz was appointed to the office of _Vakil_. The seal was given to him and his _jagir_ was transferred from Bihar to Multan.[4] Thereafter we have no information about him until 1600. Apparently all these years he remained at the court.[5]

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1. _Akbarnama_, III, 655-56.

2. _Ibid._, 655.

3. _Ibid._, 654, 659.

4. _Ibid._, 672, 717, while referring to his transfer, Abul Fazl writes "As he wanted to make amend for his former misconduct (in going to Mecca) he asked to have his _jagir_ near the court. His request was granted".

5. _Ibid._, 749-50, 769-70, 779.

In 1600 upon the death of Prince Murad, Aziz Koka was appointed Governor of Gujarat. He was promoted to the rank of 7000/6000 and his sons Abdullah and Anwar were raised to the rank of 1000 and Shamsuddin to 2000. Mirza Aziz however was not permitted to go to Gujarat. His son Shamsuddin was appointed _Naib_ of the _suba_ and his second son Khurram _faujdar_ of Junagarh.[1] In 1602 the _suba_ of Gujarat was granted in _jagir_ to Mirza Aziz and his sons by the imperial _Diwan_. At the same time Shamsuddin was recalled and Shadman was appointed deputy Governor of the _suba_. Shadman and Abdullah, another son of Mirza Aziz, who was appointed to Junagarh at his request in place of Khurram, were promoted to the rank of 1700/500 and 1500/700 respectively. Mirza Aziz continued to hold charge of Gujarat till 1605 as absentee governor. He was then transferred to Bihar.[2]

Thus towards the end of Akbar's reign the total _mansabs_ held in the family of Mirza Aziz Koka fell to 14000/7200. If we compare this total with the total _mansabs_ held by the family in 1583 it would emerge that the Atka Khail suffered a great setback in _mansabs_ as well as in their numerical strength.

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1. _Takmila_, III, 806; _Mirat-i Ahmadi_, 159.

2. _Takmila_, III, 825; _Mirat-i Ahmadi_, 159.

Total mansabs held by the family in 1583[1]

1.	Mirza Aziz Koka	5000
2.	Qutubuddin Khan	5000
3.	Sharif Khan	3000
4.	Naurang Khan	3000
5.	Mirza Abdullah	1000
6.	Mirza Shamsuddin	900
7.	Mirza Khurram	800
8.	Baz Bahadur	700
9.	Gujar Khan	700
10.	Mirza Anwar	600
11.	Mirza Shadman	500
12.	Farrukh Khan	500
13.	Fidai Khan	500
	Total mansabs	22,200

Total mansabs held by the family in 1605[2]

1.	Mirza Aziz Koka	7000/6000
2.	Shamsuddin	2000
3.	Shadman	1700/ 500
4.	Khurram	2000
5.	Abdullah	1500/ 700
	Total Mansabs	14200/7200

1. For reference, see Appendix, 'A'.
2. For reference, see Appendix, 'A'.

The decline in the number of _mansabs_ held by the Atka family was accompanied by an almost complete eclipse and elimination of the family (i.e. sons of Shamsuddin Atka's brothers). The total number of nobles of the Atka Khail in Mughal service fell from thirteen in 1583 to five in 1605. As a matter of fact the Atka Khail was reduced to the family of Mirza Aziz Koka.

Although, during the last years of Akbar's reign the numerical strength of the family was throngly reduced, but Mirza Aziz Koka was at the height of his influence at the time of Akbar's death.[1] But the support which he gave to Khusrau's candidature undermined his position completely during the reign of Jahangir. However, he and his sons were retained in service, but it was obvious that he exercised no influence over the Emperor. Though his talent and experience were utilised, he continued to hold his position with many ups and downs, largely upon sufferance.

Jahangir, after ascending the throne, pardoned all those nobles who were involved in the conspiracy,[2] along with them Mirza Aziz Koka was also pardoned. But his relations with the Emperor and his newly

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1. For details of Mirza Aziz Koka's role in the accession crisis at the time of Akbar's death, see 'conclusion'.

2. _Tuzuk_, 4-5.

raised nobility appear to have been hostile. The rebellion of Khusrau soon after the accession further undermined his position. He was suspected as one of the chief instigators and when Jahangir started in pursuit of Khusrau he thought it necessary to take the Mirza with him..[1] Farid Bhakkari states that Mirza Aziz knew it well that he might be killed any moment; therefore he used to come to the court along with a coffin.[2]

Certain other events connected with the early years of his reign indicate the hostile attitude of Jahangir and the new nobility towards Mirza Aziz Koka. The author of the Zakhirat-ul Khawanin writes that once in full darbar hot words passed between Sharif Khan, Amir-ul Umara, and Mirza Aziz Koka and the matter was referred to Jahangir in private chamber. The Emperor immediately called a meeting consisting of Sharif Khan, Mahabat Khan, Muqarrab Khan and Khan Jahan Lodi to decide the future of Mirza Aziz Koka. Sharif Khan urged that Mirza Aziz should at once be executed. Mahabat Khan said 'I don't understand discussions. I am a soldier. I have a strong sword and I will strike his waist. If it did not divide into two pieces, you can cut my hand'. Muqarrab Khan advised the Emperor to follow the path of moderation. Khan-i Jahan opposed the suggestion of execution on the ground that wherever His Majesty's

1. Tuzuk, 25; Z.K., I, 97; De Laet, 179.

2. Z.K., I, 85.

fame had gone, Aziz Koka's name has also gone by virtue of being Atka of the late Emperor. He added that he does not perceive any manifest indication of wrong doing on his part which would make him worthy of death. If he was killed the whole world will regard him a victim. Hence the order of execution will go against the interest of the state. While this meeting was in progress, Salima Sultana Begum called from behind the parda, saying that all the Begums are assembled in the harem for the purpose of interceding on behalf of Mirza Koka. She requested the Emperor to come in to hear them otherwise the ladies would come out. Khan-i Jahan Lodi requested him to go into the harem. The expostulation of the ladies forced him to overlook the remarks of Mirza Aziz and to forgive him and even to give him opium from his own special pellets.[1]

Besides in the first year (1606) of Jahangir's reign a letter alleged to have been written by Mirza Aziz Koka to Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh was produced in the court. In the letter Mirza Aziz Koka had violently denounced Akbar. Jahangir writes that when he was asked to read the letter he 'with shamelessness and impudence (he) read it as though he had not written it and was reading it by order'. Jahangir thereupon ordered him to be deprived of his jagir and mansab. But soon after he was

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1. Z.K., I, 85-86. For Amir-ul Umara Sharif Khan's hostility towards Mirza Aziz Koka see Z.K., II, 186-87.

again pardoned. In this connection Jahangir writes 'for certain consideration I passed it over'.[1] The imperial Diwan was ordered to give him a *jagir* according to his rank of 7000.[2]

While Khan Jahan Lodi's defence of Azis Koka is in line with his defence of the Rajputs about the same time (reported by another source),[3] the demand for his execution voiced by Sharif Khan and Mahabat Khan shows the depth of feeling that divided the new and the older Akbarshahi nobility. Significantly, none reported attending the Emperor, was from the Akbarshahi nobility. At the same time it also becomes quite clear that Azis Koka too had his own supporters, in the nobility and harem, which explains how he could recover his *mansab* restored without reduction, and his sons were also given promotions. Of course these promotions were negligible as compared to the promotions being given to Jahangirshahi nobility.[4]

Though not affected financially (and in formal status) Mirza Azis Koka and his sons were not given any assignment for the first

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1. *Tuzuk*, 38; *Iqbalnama*, 20-21; *Z.K.*, I, 98.

2. *Ibid.*, 70; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 48b.

3. For details see chapters on 'The Family of Raja Bhar Mal Kachhwaha' and 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

4. For details of *mansab* promotion see list of nobles promoted during the first six years of Jahangir's reign. (Appendix 'A')

two years of his reign. But in 1608 he was appointed governor of Gujarat in place of Murtaza Khan (another Akbarshahi noble). He was asked to remain at the court, and so he sent his eldest son Shamsuddin later Jahangir Quli Khan as his deputy. Jahangir Quli was promoted to the rank of 3000/2500 and one of his other sons Khurram was given title of Kamil Khan and assigned Junagarh.[1] Aziz remained absentee governor of Gujarat till 1611.

In 1611 Mirza Aziz Koka was transferred to Malwa and given the command of the operations in the Deccan being required to cooperate in the 'grand offensive' against Ahmadnagar.[2] He reached Burhanpur and joined Prince Parvez in May 1612. In September he proceeded towards Daulatabad to attack Malik Ambar. Khan Jahan Lodi, Sharif Khan, Abdullah Khan and Man Singh were supposed to serve under the supreme command of Mirza Aziz Koka. But differences arose from the very beginning between Mirza Aziz and Khan-i Jahan Lodi. Man Singh and Khwaja Abul Hasan also fell out with Khan Jahan Lodi. As a result of these differences attack on Malik Ambar from Khandesh and Gujarat proved a complete failure.[3]

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1. Tuzuk, 73; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 50a.

2. Ibid., 93.

3. Ibid., 107-108; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 57a; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 512-20. For more details of the campaign see chapters on 'The Family of Khan-i Jahan Lodi' and 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

Hence in 1612 Jahangir decided to entrust the supreme command of the Deccan once again to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. Mirza Aziz Koka thereupon sent a request to the court that he may be givenpermission to render service against the Rana of Mewar. Jahangir granted this request and ordered the Mirza to proceed to his *jagir* in Malwa and prepare for the expedition against Rana.[1]

Towards the end of 1613 Mirza Aziz took over the command of the Mewar expedition. At his request Khurram was also sent to assist him at the head of 12000 troops. Jahangir also decided at the request of the Mirza to go to Ajmer to be near the scene of action.[2] Differences arose between Mirza Aziz and Khurram as to who was to be the effective commander. When the situation was reported to Jahangir, he sent Ibrahim Husain to Mirza Aziz Koka telling him that since every wish of his was granted he should cooperate with the Prince. These instructions proved to be of no avail and Khurram complained to his father against Mirza Aziz saying that on account of his being Khurram's father in law, he was not acting properly and spoiling the situation. The Prince also took Mirza Aziz into custody.[3]

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1. *Tuzuk*, 110. But the *Arzdasht* (petition) of Mirza Aziz Koka to Jahangir indicates that he was reluctant to take up the command and actually suggested that some other noble be given that service. Cf. *Gowaliarnama*, 17ab - 18a.

2. *Tuzuk*, 126; *Iqbalnama*, 72; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 88a-89a.

3. *Tuzuk*, 126; *Iqbalnama*, 73; *Z.K.*, I, 88-89.

Jahangir accepted Khurram's version and despatched Mahabat Khan to bring Mirza Aziz from Udaipur. Muhammad Taqi was sent to bring his children and dependents from Mandesor to Ajmer. On April 5, 1614 he was presented at the court and Jahangir ordered that he should be imprisoned in the fort of Gowalior.[1]

Mirza Aziz was released in 1615 after about one year. Jahangir has given a very interesting account of the circumstances which led him to release Mirza Aziz. One day Akbar appeared to Jahangir in dream and said 'Baba forgive for my sake the faults of Mirza Aziz Koka, who is Khan-i Azam'.[2] When he was produced at the court, 'I perceived', adds Jahangir, 'more shame in myself than inhim. Having pardoned all his offences I gave him the shawal I had round my waist'. He was given Rs.10,00,000 in cash, and it was ordered that pargana of Dasna and Kasna which are equivalent to 5000 zat should be made over to him in jagir.[3] It may be noted that he was not restored to his previous rank of 7000 immediately. But in the following year (1616) he was promoted to 7000 zat and an order was issued that Tankhwah jagir be assigned to him.[4]

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1. Tuzuk, 127-28; Iqbalnama, 74; Z.K., 89-90.

2. Tuzuk, 131-32.

3. Ibid., 142.

4. Ibid., 163; Z.K., I, 90-91.

There is no record of Mirza Aziz's activities during the period 1616-1622. It appears that though he had been released and his _mansab_ was restored no military command or administrative office was given to him. He was asked, apparently, to stay at the court. Only two incidents are mentioned involving the Mirza. Once when Jahangir visited Jadrup at Mathura in 1619, Mirza Aziz who was with him also went to see Jadrup and appealed to him to pray for Khurram's release. In the same ~~may~~ year he was with the Emperor when the latter went to Kashmir.[1]

At this stage it seems important to examine the _arzdasht_ (petition) of Mirza Aziz Koka which he wrote to the Emperor at the time of his appointment to Mewar campaign (1613).[2] The petition had been referred to often by the modern scholars. The passage that has attracted particular attention is the concluding one: 'His Majesty Akbar during the fifty years of his reign increased the number of Chaghtais and Rajputs (among nobles) for these people are not seditious. They know nothing but loyalty. Since your accession, Your Majesty has destroyed both groups and had entrusted your entire business to Khurasanis and Shaikhzadas who know nothing but hypocrisy and sedition'.[3] It has been suggested that

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1. _Iqbalnama_,128; _Ma'asir-i Jahangiri_, 121b.
2. Jalal Husain, _Muntakhab-i Khan Jahan Muzaffar Khan va Gowaliernama_ (B.M. Add 16, 859), 17a-19b. For an English translation of the _arzdasht_ (petition) see Appendix, 'C'.
3. _Ibid_., 19b.

Jahangir reversed the policy of Akbar in regard to the recruitment of his nobles. The conclusions drawn by Hawkins who lived in Agra between 1609 and 1611 also coincide most remarkably with the above statement of Mirza Aziz Koka.[1]

But if we study the arzdasht in full and examine it in the light of the events surrounding the accession crisis and position of various racial groups during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir a different picture would emerge.

Mirza Aziz Koka in his arzdasht harps on the fact that Jahangir's policy (apparently, recruitment and promotions) was causing resentment among nobles. In spite of the failure of the Mewar and Deccan campaign and the confusion at Kabul, Abdullah Khan, Qulich Khan and Mahabat Khan had been given promotions and titles. Aziz expresses his inability to go to Mewar, because of his old age, and ironically suggests that this responsibility be given to those who were young and had been recently given ranks of five thousand. He pretends that, he would like to retire from service and pass his time at the tomb of Akbar as he had no ambitions. He also strongly criticised Qulich Khan, whom he considered responsible for Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan's disgrace.[2]

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1. W. Foster, Early Travels in India (London 1927), 106-107.
2. Gowalior-nama, 17a-18a.

This shows that Mirza Aziz actually resented the rapid promotions and appointments being given to Jahangirshahi nobles,[1] whom he considered incompetent and disloyal. Out of the three nobles referred to in the arzdasht, two were Turanis and only one of Irani descent.[2]

On the other hand, as we have already discussed, Jahangir lost the confidence of the Akbarshahi nobility on account of their involvement in the conspiracy at the time of Akbar's death.[3] Therefore to counter the Akbarshahi nobility he raised such nobles to higher ranks on whom he could have full confidence. These nobles were either his personal servants when he was Prince or took his side during the accession crisis.[4] However the Akbarshahi nobles were not dismissed from service though they were not given higher promotions and important administrative assignments. While no doubt the Iranis (Khurasanis) and Indian Muslims (Shaikhzadas) considerably improved their position; Turanis (Chaghtais)

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1. For promotions in mansabs, see Appendix 'A' and for central offices, see Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nurjahan during Jahangir's Reign - A Political Study', Medieval India- A Miscellany, I, 90-91.

2. Abdullah Khan and Qulich Khan were Turanis and Mahabat Khan was Irani.

3. For the conspiracy at the time of Akbar's illness and subsequent death see 'Conclusion' and chapters on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang' and 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

4. Ibid.

and Rajputs continued to remain dominant both numerically and in total *mansabs*; on the basis of the known facts. The details are given below in the table.[1]

		Total No. of *mansabs*	Turani	Irani	Rajput	Indian Muslims
1575-95,	500 and above	184	64 (37.78%)	47 (25.54%)	30 (16.30%)	34 (18.48%)
At the death of Akbar	,,	95	30 (31.58%)	21 (22.26%)	17 (17.89%)	5 (5.26%)
During six years of Jahangir	1000 and above	91	30 (32.97%)	21 (23%)	19 (20%)	16 (17.59%)

It would seem from these figures that the complaint of Mirza Aziz Koka had little foundations. Except for Indian Muslims who regained their position, the position of other racial groups remained almost at the same level. But an examination of the position of the family of Aziz Koka and recruitment and promotion of nobles under Jahangir[2] would clearly indicate that the Akbarshahi nobles were ignored and all assignments and higher promotions were given to Jahangirshahi nobles.[3]

1. For full reference to the table, see Appendix 'A'.

2. Ibid

3. Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nurjahan during Jahangir's Reign - a Political Study', Appendix: Central Ministers and Provincial Governors under Jahangir, 90-94.

The table[1] below shows the position of Mirza Aziz's family in the last days of Akbar and during the reign of Jahangir.

	Total No. of *mansabdars*	Rank
At the death of Akbar	5	14000 *zat* 7200 *sawar*
During six years of Jahangir	4	14000 *zat* 4000 *sawar*
At the end of 15th year of Jahangir	4	14700 *zat* 5800 *sawar*

These figures clearly show that the family of Mirza Aziz was not given any promotion; and as a matter of fact the *sawar* rank was substantially reduced. A similar set back was suffered by the family of Bharmal Kachhwaha also.[2] On the other hand during the same period, Sharif Khan, Khan-i Jahan Lodi, Mahabat Khan, Abdullah Khan the member family of Shaikh Salim Chishti and Barha Sayyids were given rapid promotions and important administrative assignments.[3]

Therefore it may be inferred that Mirza Aziz Koka's complaint was actually directed against these newcomers, and because both, the family

1. For full reference, see Appendix 'A' .
2. For details see chapter on 'The Family of Bhar Mal Kachhwaha'.
3. For details of award of *mansabs* and promotions, see Appendix 'A' . Also see chapters on 'The Family of Shaikh Salim Chishti', 'The Family of Barha Sayyid', 'The Family of Khan-i Jahan Lodi', 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang' and 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

of Man Singh and his own lost the previous position he gave it a factional colour. Apparently Hawkins formed his opinion on the basis of Man Singh's career ignoring the promotions which Jahangir awarded to the Rajputs friendly to his cause.

It may be added that Mirza Aziz Koka had protested almost similarly during the reign of Akbar when he realised that the Emperor was giving more importance to a new section of nobles.[1]

During those years (1616-1622), when Mirza Aziz Koka apparently remained at the court, his sons were assigned important administrative charges. In 1615 after the release of his father, Jahangir Quli Khan was promoted to the rank of 3000/2500.[2] In the same year, he was appointed Governor of Allahabad. His other brothers were also deputed with him and were given _jagir_ in the _suba_. Two years later (1617) he was transferred to Bihar.[3] But within a year, he was removed on the charge of oppressive administration. When he returned to the court in 1619, he was posted to Jaunpur. When the army of Shahjahan marched on to Jaunpur after the capture of Patna, Jahangir Quli Khan fled to Allahabad and joined Mirza Rustam in the defence of the fort.[4] After the departure of the rebels, according to

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1. See supra.
2. _Tuzuk_, 128-29.
3. _Ibid._, 142.
4. _Iqbalnama_, 221-24, _Baharistan-i Ghaibi_, II 718.

Shahnawaz Khan, Jahangir Quli was made governor of Allahabad.[1] Aziz Koka's other sons were also given *mansabs* but were never given any important administrative assignment.

In 1622, when Shahjahan rebelled and marched northwards, Jahangir again thought of calling up Mirza Aziz for active service. Aziz Koka's son-in-law Khusrau had been murdered by Shahjahan, and it could be assumed that Aziz Koka would be most hostile to Khurram, who had already been once responsible for his imprisonment. He was promoted to the rank of 7000/5000 and appointed *ataliq* of Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusrau, who had been appointed governor of Gujarat.[2] Only July 3, 1623 Dawar Bakhsh and Mirza Aziz entered Ahmadabad, which the local officers had successfully defended against Shahjahan's troops. In November 1623 Mirza Aziz received orders from the court recalling him to Ajmer and asking that Dawar Bakhsh should be kept at Ahmadabad in the charge of Safi Khan. Mirza Aziz however remained in Gujarat till the middle of 1624, when he died there in 16 24 .[3] Presumably he resisted the imperial order and did not proceed to court in the interest of his grandson, Dawar Bakhsh.

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1. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, I, 524-25.
2. *Tuzuk*, 361-62; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 162b; *Z.K.*, I, 91-92.
3. *Iqbalnama*, 229-30; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 184b-185a; *Z.K.*, I, 92.

After the accession of Shahjahan the family went into oblivion. Jahangir Quli was confirmed to his previous rank of 3000/3000, but was removed from the governorship of Allahabad.[1] He was sent to take charge of Sorath and Junagarh, where he died in the 5th regnal year.[2] According to Lahori Shahjahan raised Jahangir Quli's eldest son to the rank of 2000/2000 and confirmed him to the charge held by his father.[3]

Mirza Khurram (Kamil Khan) another son of Mirza Aziz was at Burhanpur when Jahangir died. He died during the reign of Shahjahan at an advanced age. It is not known whether he was given any rank by Shahjahan. It is however significant to note that property of the deceased worth rupees five lakhs was confiscated and only twenty thousand rupees in cash was given to his sons. It may be therefore inferred from this incident that probably Mirza Khurram was not given any *mansab* by Shahjahan. Of his many sons, Mirza Abul Khair was in the imperial service under Shahjahan and held the charge of the fort of Jola or Chola. His rank, however, is not known to us.[4]

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1. *Maasir-ul Umara* I 519-20.
2. *Z.K.*, II, 325.
3. *Badshahnama*, II, 737; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, I, 524-25.
4. *Z.K.*, II, 327-28.

Chapter III

THE FAMILY OF ALI QULI KHAN-I ZAMAN

During the early phase of Akbar's reign the family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman constituted one of the most important groups among Mughal nobles. Ali Quli, along with his clansmen, played an important role in Humayun's restoration to the throne of Delhi, and after his death, cooperated with Bairam Khan in establishing the Mughal Empire under Akbar. Ali Quli belonged to Uzbek clan who were tribal people; and the family behaved in the same tribal manner and worked as one single group in their entire career under Akbar. They were apparently the closest supporters of Bairam Khan during the days he was in power. Consequently the 'court party' remained hostile to them during the regency of Bairam Khan; and after his dismissal they were subjected to much harassment. When Akbar took the reins of government in his own hands and started taking stern measures against the recalcitrant nobility, the Uzbeks took up arms and rebelled. The period of Uzbek revolt is of great significance, because it not only shook the very foundation of the young, restored Mughal Empire, but made Akbar to think for bringing about some drastic change in the composition of his nobility.

The prominent members of Ali Quli's family during the reign of Akbar were, besides Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman himself, Bahadur Khan, Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Ibrahim Khan and Sikandar Khan. A chart of the family is provided in the appendix. The total _mansabs_ held by members of the family as recorded in the _Ain_ was 22,500 which apparently was higher than the total _mansab_ held by any other important family group during the period.[1] Although the _mansab_ system was not introduced by that time, and they have been posthumously assigned to them by Abul Fazl, they are yet indicative of the high position which the Uzbeks then commanded. As Arif Qandhari puts it, "The members of this clan had been given high promotions. They received such high honours and titles as Khan, Khan-i Zaman, etc. and were given the contiguous _wilayats_ and _parganas_ such as the _sarkar_ of Jaunpur, Awadh, Saruar (Gorakhpur) and the whole of the east, of which every _wilayat_ had been (at one or the other time) the seat of the Sultans of India".[2]

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1. _Ain_, I, (Sayyid Ahmad ed.) 160-61 Following Uzbek nobles related to Ali Quli have been listed by Abul Fazl.

(i)	Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman	5000
(ii)	Abdullah Khan Uzbek	5000
(iii)	Bahadur Khan	5000
(iv)	Iskandar Khan	3000
(v)	Ibrahim Khan	2500
(vi)	Darwesh Muhammad Uzbek	2000

See also Family Chart No.2

2. _Tarikh-i Akbari_, 95.

Ali Quli and other nobles of the family were closely related to each other. Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan were sons of Haidar Sultan who was a step-brother of Qasim Husain Shaibani and Abdullah Khan Uzbek.[1] Iskandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan are mentioned by Bayazid as close relations of Ali Quli. Iskandar Khan has also been referred to as a descendant of the princes of the tribe.[2] However, their exact relationship to each other is not often made clear in our sources. Some of them were Shias; others were Sunnis. Some of them like Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan were for all practical purposes Khurasanis as they were born and brought up in Persia. But Abdullah Khan, Iskandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan had spent their entire career in the service of Timurids and had no links with the Khurasanis.

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1. Bayazid, 36, 86-87; Tarikh-i Alfi, 620a; Akbarnama, I 142 states that Abdullah Khan was a relation of Qasim Husain Khan. Gulbadan Begum in her Humayun Nama, 17, writes that Sultan Husain Mirza was the maternal grandfather of Qasim Husain Khan. Of Abdullah Khan it is stated that he was married to the daughter of Qasim Barlas a well known Chaghtai noble of Babur. Also see, Life of Munim Khan, 22-23, 30-31 for the biographies of Ali Quli, Bahadur Khan and Qasim Husain Khan Shaibani. Z.K., I, 26, Farid Bhakkari gives no information about their ancestry and antecedents except that they belonged to the family of Shaibani Khan.

2. Tarikh-i Rashidi (tr. D. Ross), 1895, 474. Iskandar Khan was a former servant of Mirza Kamran and remained in Mughal service from the early years of Humayun's reign. Tarikh-i Alfi, 620a. Ibrahim Khan was the senior most among the Uzbek officers under Akbar. Ali Quli treated him like his uncle. See also Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 84-87.

The Uzbeks' conduct at the Mughal court, however, indicates that they were a wellknit family group and always acted in close cooperation among themselves. Their own interests were of more importance to them than political, racial or religious considerations. Because of their own deep-rooted tribal loyalties neither the Iranis nor the Turanis supported them as groups. Only some individual nobles aided them at some point or the other.[1]

Haidar Sultan Shaibani, father of Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan, belonged to Sistan and was connected with the family of Shaibani Khan.[2] In the battle of Jam fought between the Uzbeks and the Safavids, Haidar Sultan joined the Persians and attained the rank of an amir. He settled in Isfahan and married in a Persian family.[3] When Humayun was returning from Persia, Haidar Sultan accompanied him, along with his two sons, Ali Quli and Muhammad Said (popularly known as Bahadur Khan) and other clansmen.[4]

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1. Bayazid, 74.

2. Farishta, II, 217. Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan both were born in Persia.

3. Kewal Ram, Tazkirat-ul Umara, 51a 52ab; Z.K., I, Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 622. See also, Life of Munim Khan, 22-23.

4. Akbarnama, I, 218-19, 229-30, adds that he was an intimate of Mirza Kamran and was with him at Tus. Bayazid, 35-36, states that he was a commander in the Persian army which accompanied Humayun for his help under the command of Prince Murad. His name has been included among eighteen commanders of the army including Prince Murad.

Haidar Suntan's entry into Humayun's service might have been the result of the old association of the family with the Mughal rulers of India. Qasim Husain Khan Uzbek a brother of Haidar Sultan had been in the service of Babur and had held the jagir of Awadh.[1] Along with Abdullah Khan Uzbek, he had served Humayun in the Gujarat and Bengal campaigns.[2] When Humayun fled from Agra towards Lahore after his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah, Qasim Husain joined him in Delhi and accompanied him in his further marches.[3] However, in 1542 he deserted Humayun and joined Yadgar Nasir Mirza at Rohri.[4]

Haidar Sultan and his sons rendered valuable service in the conquest of Qandhar; and the territory of Shal (Quetta) was assigned to him subsequently.[5] About the same time Qalat and its neighbouring areas were assigned to Qasim Husain Shaibani who had apparently rejoined Humayun at the time of the conquest of Qandhar along with certain other nobles.[6]

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1. Akbarnama, I, 148.

2. Ibid., 129, 133-34, 140-41, 148. After the conquest of Gujarat, Qasim Husain was given charge of Baroch. Humayun Nama, 39, 41.

3. Akbarnama, I, 167, 171.

4. Ibid., 178.

5. Bayazid, 41-43; Akbarnama, I, 229-30, 235.

6. Bayazid, 51.

During the march from Qandhar to Kabul, plague broke out and Haidar Sultan along with many others died on the way. At this time Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan were serving in the capacity of a safarchi and parwanchi.[1]

Bayazid and other sources say that a large number of nobles joined Humayun at the time of the conquest of Qandhar. When Humayun marched on Kabul, six Uzbek nobles, including Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan, were in his train.[2] Ali Quli and other Uzbeks remained loyal to him during this most critical period when he was making frenzied efforts to deal with Mirza Kamran, Mirza Sulaiman and other tribal powers.[3] Their unqualified support raised them to a predominant position because nobles in general were then shifting their loyalties with alarming freedom.

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1. Akbarnama, I, 244; Bayazid, 52, 57;

2. Akbarnama, I, 281; Bayazid, 97. On the occasion of Kamran's surrender at Taliqan, Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan were among the six leading Uzbek nobles who were sent in the second batch of officers to welcome the Mirza.

3. Akbarnama, I, 252, 259. Bahadur Khan served Humayun in Badakhshan against Mirza Sulaiman. Later on he was imprisoned by Mirza Kamran at Kabul where he had been sent by Humayun after the battle of Tirgiran. Bayazid, 92. In 1548 at the time of the rebellion of Qaracha Khan, Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan stood firmly with Humayun and saved the crisis. They also accompanied Humayun once again to Badakhshan to crush the rebellion of nobles. Bahadur Khan, Iskandar Khan and Abdullah Khan accompanied Humayun in the Balkh expedition. See Bayazid, 123-24; Akbarnama, I, 290. Bayazid, 150. Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan also served Humayun in the operation against the Afghan tribes.

Humayun started on his expedition to India in November 1554. Ali Quli, Bahadur Khan, Iskandar Khan and Abdullah Khan accompanied him along with other officers. During this time Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan held the posts of _safarchi_ and _muhardar_ respectively and Iskandar Khan was appointed to the advance guard of the army.[1] The Uzbeks played a distinguished role in the campaign that followed.[2] In reward of the services rendered by them, Humayun assigned Agra, Sambhal and Kalpi to Iskandar Khan, Ali Quli and Abdullah Khan respectively.[3] Bahadur Khan was apparently despatched to take charge of zamindawar. These assignments they continued to hold in the life time of Humayun, and after Akbar's accession they were confirmed in their charges.[4]

Though Ali Quli and his other Uzbeks were to rise much further after the accession of Akbar, already under Humayun they had emerged as a powerful group and, if Bayazid Bayat is to be believed, they were actually considered next only to the Mirzas in the hierarchy.[5]

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1. Bayazid, 177; _Akbarnama_, I, 342.

2. _Ibid._, 190; _Ibid._, 335.

3. _Ibid._, 194; _Ibid._, 351-52.

4. _Akbarnama_, II, 14, 27-28.

5. Bayazid, 99. Besides, Abul Fazl's list of nobles who accompanied Humayun to India, includes all the Uzbek nobles mentioned above. This list includes only important officers. There is no reference to any of the Atka nobles. _Akbarnama_, I, 278-79.

At the time of the death of Humayun, Ali Quli was engaged in a battle with Shadi Khan Afghan, one of the chief officers of Muharis Khan who held Sambhal and its neighbourhood. An army despatched by Ali Quli was defeated; hence he decided to march in person against the rebels.[1] But in the meantime Tardi Beg and other officers posted at Agra and Etawa informed him about the danger from Hemu who was marching on Delhi at the head of a huge army. Thereupon Ali Quli suspended his campaign and immediately marched towards Delhi. But before his arrival Hemu had defeated Tardi Beg near Tughlaqabad on October 7, 1556.[2] The defeated Mughal officers, Tardi Beg, Iskandar Khan and Abdullah Khan together with Ali Quli, who had arrived Delhi a day after the battle, with-drew to join the imperial camp at Sarhind. At the instance of Bairam Khan, Iskandar Khan threw the whole responsibilty of the Mughal reverses upon Tardi Beg; and the latter was executed on the charge of treachery.[3]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 27-29; Tabaqat, II, 213; Muntakhab, II, 13; Farishta, II, 184-85, writes that Ali Quli himself was badly defeated by Shadi Khan and only two hundred of his men could escape.

2. For details see chapter on 'The Family of Bairam Khan Khan Khanan'.

3. Muntakhab, II, 14, writes .... 'having succeeded in impressing this on the Emperor's mind by bringing Khan-i Zaman and many others as witness to substantiate his accusation'. The Uzbek officers threw the whole responsibility of Mughal defeat on Tardi Beg although actually Ali Quli arrived at Delhi only after the battle and other Uzbek officers posted in and around Agra had fled away, without offering any resistance to Hemu.

In the battle of Panipat the command of the van was given to Ali Quli and other Uzbek officers. After the victory Ali Quli was confirmed in his jagir of sarkar Sambhal and other parganas in the Doab. Abdullah Khan was assigned the sarkar of Kalpi and Iskandar Khan was granted Sialkot and ordered to reinforce Khizr Khwaja Khan.[1] In the meantime Bahadur Khan, brother of Ali Quli, came from Zamindawar, and at the request of Bairam Khan was granted Multan. This was in spite of the fact that Bahadur Khan was responsible for the surrender of Qandhar to the Persians and might have been thought deserving of punishment.[2]

During his tenure of office at Sambhal which was a stronghold of the Afghans, Ali Quli defeated Rukn Khan Lohani and the combined forces of another Afghan chief Jalal Khan Sur and Hasan Khan Bachgoti near Lucknow.[3] The territories from Sambhal to Lucknow came under the possession of the Mughals and were assigned to Ali Quli and his clansmen.

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1. Akbarnama, II, 33, 45-47.

2. Ibid., 52. Bahadur Khan who had been assigned Zamindawar, conspired to seize Qandhar. At the last moment Shah Muhammad Qandhari who held Qandhar, for Bairam Khan came to know of it, applied for help to the Persians as no aid from India being possible. The Persians sent him help on the condition that he would surrender Qandhar. For more details see, Akbarnama, II, 29-30; Tabaqat, II, 129-30; Farishta, II, 184-85.

3. Akbarnama, II, 56; Muntakhab, II, 25; De Laet, 142. Abul Fazl, however, says that though Ali Quli achieved this great victory he was not loyal and truthful. Bachgotis: They lived in the region on the right bank of Ghagra. The Ain mentions Bachgotis in the sarkar of Lucknow, Awadh and Jaunpur. The headquarters of Hasan Khan were probably Hasanpur in district Gonda. See Gazetteer of Sultanpur, 88; Ain, II, 74, 79-80, 82.

The appointment of Uzbek nobles to the charge of the Empire's eastern region as well as the Panjab and Multan, gave a distinct position in the nobility. The Uzbeks, being so favoured by Bairam Khan, became his close allies. The net result of this alliance as viewed by a large section of the nobility was increased power of Bairam Khan over the administration. Attempts were now made by the discontented elements in the nobility to reduce the power of the Regent. Among several measures taken against him[1] was the harassment and persecution of his allies. The Uzbeks being his closest allies and the most powerful clan group in the nobility now became an obvious target.

At the pretext of a scandal involving Ali Quli and Shaham Beg a royal body guard, Pir Muhammad Sherwani in open disregard of the wishes of Bairam Khan confiscated Ali Quli's *jagir* of Sandila and assigned it to Sultan Husain Jalair so that the Uzbeks may be removed from their 'unique position and absolute power in the region'. But Sandila had already been granted by Ali Quli to Ismail Khan son of Ibrahim Khan Uzbek. This led to an armed conflict between Ismail Khan and the imperial forces under the

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1. See chapter on 'The Family of Bairam Khan', for more detail in this context. Also see, Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal Court Politics during the Regency of Bairam Khan', pp.8-11. Apart from the persecution of Bairam Khan's allies, Akbar married the daughter of Abdullah Mughal, son-in-law of Munim Khan, in the teeth of Bairam Khan's opposition. Attempts were also made on the life of Bairam Khan. Under the pressure of the court nobility, Bairam Khan promised to share some of his powers. cf. *Akbarnama*, II, pp.60-62, 67; Bayazid, p.177; *Maasir-i Rahimi*, I, 657.

Jalairs; and Ismail Khan was expelled from Sandila. In the engagement Shah Budagh Bulaqi, a relation of Ali Quli, was killed. Ali Quli was enraged and decided to take military action against Sultan Husain Jalair. Bairam Khan whose own power had declined at the court and was unable to protect the interests of his ally tried to obtain a reconciliation. On the one hand, he stopped Pir Muhammad Khan from despatching an army against Ali Quli, and, on the other, he advised Ali Quli to send one of his faithful servants to the court to clear up misunderstanding which had gathered around him. However, when Burj-i Ali, a servant of Ali Quli, came to the court, he was not permitted to meet the Emperor on the orders of Pir Muhammad Sherwani. While these drastic steps were taken against his closest supporters Bairam Khan was apparently in no position to take action against his enemies. Abul Fazl supports this view; he says, 'he (Bairam Khan) cherished revenge for it in his heart, and put off the punishment to another time'.[1] However, it is significant that no action was taken against Ali Quli, and the matter was put off for thetime being.

In 1559, Ali Quli was once ágain ordered to expel Shaham Beg from his _jagir_, proceed to Jaunpur and conquer it from Ibrahim Sur. His _jagir_ in the Doab was confiscated and Qaya Khan Ganj, Sultan Husáin Jalair,

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1. _Akbarnama_, II, 67-69; Farishta, II, 192.

Muhammad Khan Jalair and Haj Muhammad Khan Sistani were despatched to take charge of Lucknow which had been under the charge of the Uzbeks. Dire consequences were threatened if he refused to comply with imperial orders.[1] Ali Quli obeyed the imperial orders and proceeded to conquer Jaunpur as he had already realised the weak position of Bairam Khan at the court. This appears to have greatly strained the relations between the Uzbeks and the court party. The relations between Bairam Khan and Ali Quli may also have suffered a setback.

Jaunpur was in the possession of Ibrahim Khan Sur. Ali Quli advanced to conquer Jaunpur in 1559. Being unable to withstand the assault, Ibrahim Khan fled to Orissa.[2] In the same year Bahadur Khan of Bengal also invaded Jaunpur. Ali Quli was successful in driving him away.[3] Thereafter he remained in Jaunpur, until his rebellion. All of his clansmen and relations were granted *jagirs* in that region, with the exception of Abdullah Khan. During his tenure of office at Jaunpur, he entered into some sort of understanding with Karrani Afghans, apparently under the pressure of the hostile attitude of the court party and the weak position of Bairam Khan with whom his relations were now no longer as friendly as

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1. *Akbarnama*, II, 82.

2. *Ibid.*; Farishta, II, 194-95, believes that Khan-i Zaman in order to protect himself and to effect a reconciliation with the king invaded Jaunpur and Banaras.

3. *Akbarnama*, II, 138-39 ; *Muntakhab*, II, 48; De Laet, 142.

before. Hence in these circumstances the only alternative left to him was to maintain friendly relations with the neighbouring states of Afghan rulers who were eager to help such elements as could disrupt Mughal rule in whatever way possible.

In 1559, Bahadur Khan was ordered to conquer Malwa; but the campaign was suspended because of the rebellion of Bairam Khan. Bahadur Khan was called back.[1] In the meantime court politics took a new turn; the groups of Maham Anaga, the Atkas and some other disgruntled nobles combined together to bring about Bairam Khan's dismissal.[2] It is significant that none of the Usbek nobles joined Bairam Khan at any stage of his rebellion. Among the contemporary sources only Abul Fazl suggests that Bairam Khan was planning to go to Bahadur Khan and, with his help, conquer Malwa. He adds that Bairam Khan also thought of joining Ali Quli and enlist the help of the Afghans of the eastern region.[3] Later events, however, do not support either of these speculations.[4] The Usbeks, during the period of Bairam Khan's

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1. Akbarnama, II, 89-90; Muntakhab, II, 35; Tabaqat, II, 235; Farishta, II, 195. Badauni writes that Bahadur Khan returned and joined Akbar on the advice of Bairam Khan.

2. For details, see chapter on 'The Family of Bairam Khan' and 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

3. Akbarnama, II, 96-97; Tarikh-i Alfi, 601a. Iqtidar Alam Khan also accepts the opinion of Abul Fazl. See Life of Munim Khan, 75. Also see Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal Court Politics during Bairam Khan's Regency', Medieval India - A Miscellany, I, 36 n.61.

4. Muntakhab, II, 35-36 says 'He told his intention to all his supporters (intention of going to Mecca) and gave them leave to go to court. And Bahadur Khan, who had been sent far from Malwa, he allowed to go as their companion. cf. Akbarnama, II, 96-97; Tarikh-i Alfi, 601a.

revolt, remained aloof and did not join either of the contending groups. After the final defeat of Bairam Khan it became clear that the groups which emerged as the most powerful at the court were hostile to the Uzbeks. Hence they entered into an alliance with a section of the Turkish nobility which included such nobles as Qaya Khan Ganj, Sultan Husain Jalair and Muhammad Amin Diwana. With their support and with the support of such other nobles as were unhappy with the groups of Maham Anaga and the Atkas, the Uzbeks were able to retain or strengthen their position for the time being.

Thus the circumstances being favourable to them, Bahadur Khan now laid claim to the office of Vakil. The court party had no alternative but to concede him the office to ensure his abstention from supporting Bairam Khan.[1]

Bahadur Khan remained Vakil for a very short period. No contemporary work, except the Akbarnama, has noticed his appointment. During the period when Bahadur Khan was Vakil, real power at the Court lay in the hands of Maham Anga's group; and every attempt was made to undercut Bahadur Khan's position. As soon as Bairam Khan was defeated Sultan Husain Jalair and a number of others were imprisoned. Qaya Khan Ganj was transferred to Bahraich, and Muhammad Amin Diwana fled from the court out of fear. Ultimately Bahadur Khan was dismissed from office and granted a jagir in Etawah.[2]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 99-100.
2. Ibid., 100.

and persuade him to come to the Court. Bayazid says that being apprehensive of a section of the nobility, Bahadur Khan refused. As he had no other jagir, Ali Quli assigned him Banaras, which was part of his own jagir. Although Bahadur Khan and Ali Quli thus disobeyed imperial orders, they were not punished. *It seems that Munim Khan came to their rescue and* apparenly Bahadur Khan was even confirmed in his charge of Banaras.[1]

In the meantime the Afghans of eastern region took the opportunity to recover their lost position. The partisans of Adli placed his son Sher Khan (Sher Shah II) on the throne at Chunar and in 1561 invaded Jaunpur. Ali Quli collected his clansmen, and in a battle fought outside the fort of Jaunpur the Afghans were defeated.[2]

While Ali Quli was engaged in war with Sher Shah II, Fateh Khan, along with his brother Hasan Khan, captured Bihar and some other territories belonging to his jagir. They enthroned Awaz Khan son of Salim Shah at Rohtas. After the defeat of Sher Shah II they advanced towards Jaunpur at the head of a big army. In the engagement at Andhiari, the Afghans were again defeated.[3] Abul Fazl writes that while the campaign was in

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1. Bayazid, 244.
2. Ibid., 138-39; Tarikh-i Alfi, 604a, 604b; Akbarnama, II, 138-39; Muntakhab, II, 48; see also Abdur Rahim, The History of the Afghans in India, 136-37.
3. Akbarnama, II, 219-20; Muntakhab, II, 48-49; Tabaqat, II, 255-56; see also De Laet, 142.

progress, the Emperor despatched Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan, Wazir Khan and Maulana Alauddin Lari 'to establish him (Ali Quli) on the path of fidelity by good counsels and by royal favours'. He adds that ample favours were shown to Sulaiman Karrani who had associated with Khan-i Zamán. As a result Sulaiman Karrani read Khutba in the name of Akbar.[1]

The Afghans had made their last attempt under Awaz Khan. Thereafter Fateh Khan and Hasan Khan entered into friendly relations with Ali Quli and subsequently helped him during his rebellion. The Afghans of Bengal after their defeat in 1558 also maintained friendly relations with Ali Quli. They remained passive spectators during Sher Shah II's invasion of Jaunpur. Taj Khan Karrani of Bihar, who later became ruler of Bengal and Bihar, presumably with the help of Ali Quli, continued to have friendly relations with him and used to send him presents.[2]

Ali Quli's successes against the Afghans of the eastern region and the friendly relations which he developed with them subsequently, were viewed with great alarm at the court. The author of Tabaqat-i Akbari states that after Khan-i Zaman's victory over the

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1. Akbarnama, II, 219-20.

2. In 1559 Taj Khan sent Ali Quli the present of few elephants and the pieces of muslin. See Bayazid, 239. Bayazid also believes that Ali Quli after conquering Bengal handed it over to Taj Khan.

partisans of Sher Khan II, people began to harbour suspicions about his intentions.[1] Hence, Akbar immediately proceeded towards Jaunpur. When he reached Kara, Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan came to offer homage. The Emperor accepted their submission, confirmed them in their assignments and returned to Agra.

This period may be considered, as the main period of the power and prestige of the Uzbeks. They were holding charge of Malwa and the eastern regions, all of great strategic importance. But at the court their position was not secure. The attitude of the emperor and a section of the nobility was hostile. Abul Fazl indeed suggests that Ali Quli and his clansmen were disloyal to the throne and working to subvert imperial authority from the beginning of Akbar's reign.[2]

The hostility of the emperor towards Uzbek nobles it appears was partly on the ground of personal dislike since he believed that his father's troubles were due to Uzbek conspiracy and faithfulness during his exile or, as Arif Qandhari suggests, that Ali Quli wanted to capture and keep Akbar as a prisoner and seize the country. Another important reason assigned for his hostility in the contemporary sources is the suspicion that their close association with Chenges Khan of Gujarat and

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1. Tabaqat, II, 255-56.

2. Akbarnama, II, 97-9

the Afghan rulers of Rohtas, Bihar and Bengal engendered at the Court.[1] These factors must have played their part; but a close study of the political conditions of the Empire after the dismissal of Bairam Khan reveal that the basic cause of Uzbek rebellion lay rather in Akbar's attempt to bring Mughal nobility under his complete control.

After the overthrow of Bairam Khan's regency, the Mughal Empire was faced with considerable political and administrative difficulties. As soon as Akbar took the reins of government in his hands, the administration of finances attracted his attention. The reorganisation of revenue administration created general discontent in the nobility, especially among those nobles who held charge of distant regions. The officers posted in outlying provinces were practically autonomous in collecting revenue and taxes. But as a result of these reforms they were required to submit complete account of the finances.[2]

During the same period, Akbar initiated some changes in the composition of the nobility. As is well known Akbar brought into the nobility the Rajputs and Shaikhzadas to counter the power of old nobility.

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1. Tarikh-i Akbari, 129, Cf. A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, I, 99-100. Also see, Life of Munim Khan, 75-76.

2. For a discussion on the early reforms see, Life of Munim Khan, 76-77 and chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

Along with it, 'Akbar was anxious to eliminate as far as possible, clan groups inside the nobility, for such a group tended to become the nucleus of warring faction and undermine the growth of really firm ties of loyalty between the king and the nobility'. These negative effects were felt more acutely when several members of the same clan were given *jagirs* in one and the same region. Pir Muhammad Khan Sherwani, presumably acting in Akbar's interest, had even during the period of Regency, twice resumed *jagirs* of Ali Quli and other Uzbeks which were concentrated in one region.[1]

The important revenue reforms were bound to effect in general the old nobility which was largely of Turani origin; and of these, the Uzbeks were liable to be effected more than any one else. They were by far the largest clan group and had large holdings of contiguous *jagirs* in the eastern region, where, except for Abdullah Khan, all the other Uzbeks were posted.[2]

When faced by royal claims which might affect their power and revenues, the Uzbeks had reasons enough not to accept them meekly. Besides the large territories they themselves controlled, they had powerful allies:

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1. *Akbarnama*, II, 67-78, 82; *Life of Munim Khan*, 76; Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility under Akbar and Development of his Religious Policy 1560-80' *JRAS* 1968, 29-30; also see, chapters on 'The Family of Raja Bharmal Kachhwaha' and 'The Family of Barha Sayyid'.

2. See Supra.

Abdullah Khan and Ali Quli enjoyed very good relations with Changes Khan of Gujarat and Afghan rulers of Rohtas and Bengal.[1] Except that some of the senior nobles like Munim Khan were sympathetic towards them.[2]

In these circumstances, recourse to arms became inevitable. Abul Fazl writes that it came to the notice of the Emperor that Abdullah Khan was meditating rebellion.[3] Akbar proceeded towards Malwa on the pretext of a hunting expedition in July 1564, and despatched Ashraf Khan and Itimad Khan to help him in submission.[4] Abdullah Khan became apprehensive of these steps and fled away. However, Ashraf Khan and Itimad Khan met him at Liwani and conveyed to him the imperial message. Abdullah Khan offered to surrender provided the emperor excused him from personal presence and allowed him to continue as governor of Malwa. These terms were accepted at the personal representation of Munim Khan.[5] But in the meantime a woman complained to Akbar regarding the atrocities committed by a Qurbegi of Abdullah Khan. Akbar personally assured her and asked her

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1. See Supra.

2. Life of Munim Khan, 75-77.

3. Akbarnama, II, 221; Tabaqat, II, 172; Muntakhab, II, 67. Abul Fazl writes that 'Abdullah Khan was wavering in his allegiance to the king and was about to cast away the burden of favours and to become an ingrate. He was also suspected of maintaining undesirable contact with Changes Khan of Gujarat'.

4. Ibid.; Tarikh-i Alfi, 613b.

5. Ibid., 223-25; Tabaqat, II, 172; Muntakhab, II, 68.

'to wait the exhibition of the light of justice, for that he should shortly inflict great punishment on him'.[1] Abdullah Khan was already suspicious about Akbar's moves, became panicky on this and fled to Gujarat and took shelter with Changez Khan.[2]

The flight of Abdullah Khan signalled the beginning of the revolt of the Uzbek clan which continued for three years (July 1564 to June 1567). Akbar lost confidence in the Uzbek officers posted in eastern region and decided to march towards that region to forestall any hostile activity on their part. The Uzbeks, on their part, 'made this incident a pretext for staging their revolt'.[3] Before proceeding against Ali Quli, Akbar despatched Qulij Khan to Rohtas to get the support of Fateh Khan in the event of a campaign against Ali Quli. Fateh Khan promised to assist the royal forces if Akbar came to Jaunpur and despatched his brother Hasan Khan to court.[4] Ashraf Khan was now sent to summon Iskandar Khan, _jagirdar_ of Oudh, to clear past misunderstandings. A robe

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1. _Akbarnama_, II, 225.

2. _Ibid._, 226-230; _Tabaqat_, II, 173; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, 613b; _Muntakhab_, II, 68, Nizamuddin writes that Changez Khan requested Akbar to forgive the officers of Abdullah Khan, in response to Akbar's order to expel Abdullah Khan from Gujarat.

3. _Tarikh-i Akbari_, 81; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, 617b; _Tabaqat_, II, 174; _Muntakhab_, II, 74.

4. _Akbarnama_, II, 243; _Tabaqat_, II, 185. At this time Fath Khan was besieged by Sulaiman Karrani, the ruler of Bengal.

of honour and an inlaid sword were sent to him. It appears that Akbar wanted to isolate Ali Quli from his relatives. But Iskandar Khan detained Ashraf Khan and proceeded to consult Ali Quli along with Ibrahim Khan and other Uzbek nobles. The meeting of Uzbek officers decided upon defiance. Taking the initiative, they expelled the imperial officers posted in the region, while Akbar was still at Narwar in Central India. They planned to make two inroads into the Doab: one from the side of Manikpur under Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan, and the other towards Qanauj under Iskandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan.[1] Muhammad Amin Diwana was defeated by Ibrahim Khan and Sikandar Khan near Nimkhar and Majnun Khan Qaqshal was forced to take shelter in the fort of Manikpur.[2] When these developments were reported to Akbar, Munim Khan was despatched to lead the van, and the emperor himself followed him. At the approach of imperial army the rebels fled and fortified themselves at Kundanah somewhere near Hajipur[3] and approached Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal and Fateh Khan Batani of Rohtas. But in the meantime Akbar sent Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani to Sulaiman Karrani to detach him from Ali Quli. When Haji Muhammad Sistani reached Rohtas, he

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1. Tarikh-i Akbari, 81-84; Akbarnama, II, 249; Tabaqat, II, 180-81; Muntakhab, II, 74-75; Tarikh-i Alfi, 618a.

2. Akbarnama, II, 250; Tarikh-i Alfi, 618a; Muntakhab, II, 75; Tabaqat, II, 181.

3. Nafais, 49a; Tarikh-i Akbari, 85-86; Bayazid, 286; Akbarnama, II, 251-53; Tabaqat, II, 182. Kundanah belonged to the Afghan kingdom of Bengal.

was arrested by the Afghans and handed over to Ali Quli.[1] Haji Muhammad had very old relations with Ali Quli; on that account Abul Fazl believes that he was ultimately successful in persuading him to submit. Having failed in the mission to Sulaiman, the emperor despatched Hasan Khan Khazanchi and Mahapatra to Raja Madhukar Deo of Orissa with the same purpose. The Raja promised to make a diversion by invading Bengal if Sulaiman assisted Ali Quli.[2] Another mission was sent to Fateh Khan of Rohtas which, however, also failed.[3] By these diplomatic manoeuvres Akbar tried to isolate the Uzbeks from their supporters. But as a matter of fact he failed to do so. Sulaiman Karrani despatched an army under Sulaiman Mangali and Kala Pahar and Fateh Khan along with his brother Hasan Khan personally joined him.[4]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 254-55; Badauni, II, 76.

2. Ibid.; Muntakhab, II, 76-77; Tabaqat, II, 183-84.

3. Ibid., II, 257; Muntakhab, II, 78-79. Hasan Khan not only turned down Emperor's request, but openly joined Ali Quli at Kundanah along with Sulaiman Karrani's generals Kala Pahar and Sulaiman Mangali. Akbarnama, II, 257-58. Ali Quli despatched Sikandar Khan and Bahadur Khan towards Sarwar to plunder it.

4. Akbarnama, II, 255, 257-58; Tabaqat, II, 183-84; Bayazid, 291; Badauni, II, 78-79.

In the meantime Asaf Khan fled from the imperial camp[1] which further weakened the position of the royal army and encouraged Ali Quli to continue hostilities. But he soon realised that the Usbeks could not improve their position as long as emperor was in the east. Therefore, he opened negotiation with Munim Khan. Bayazid writes that Munim Khan in a letter addressed to Ali Quli advised him to 'give up your deplorable activities and make sincere appeal to the Emperor. If you have any request, communicate them to me so that I may convey them to His Majesty and settle your affairs'. But at the same time he warned him, 'If I write to the Afghans, whom you consider your supporters, they will bring you here having arrested you'.[2]

After prolonged negotiations a meeting between Ali Quli and Munim Khan was held in which besides Ali Quli, Mian Kalapahar, Sulaiman

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1. Akbarnama, II, 255-56, 261-62; Muntakhab, II, 77, 80-81; Tabaqat, 183; Bayazid, 293. Asaf Khan's flight was the outcome of the division of Mughal camp into two diametrically opposed views. The two groups were: Munim Khan supported by Makhdum-ul Mulk Shaikh Abdun Nabi, Mir Murtaza Sharif and Haji Muhammad Sistani (they worked for the reconciliation of the rebels and under their influence Ali Quli was pardoned in March 1566) the other group consisted of Khwaja Jahan, Majnun Khan Qaqshal, and Mir Muiz-ul Mulk (they tried their best to widen the rift between the Emperor and the Usbeks).

2. Bayazid, 290. Ali Quli sent Agha Sarv-qad an ex-maid of Babur's harem to hold secret discussion with Munim Khan regarding the possibility of peaceful end of the conflict. Badauni, II, 79, writes that 'Khan Khanan ..... in his old way of intimacy kept sending soldiers with messages of peace'. Cf. Akbarnama, II, 257-58. For detail, see Life of Munim Khan, 82-83.

Mangali, Hasan Khan Batani and Sulaiman Usbek also participated. It was decided that the Emperor should send Khwaja Jahan with orders of pardon for the rebels. He was also excused from personal presence. Ibrahim Khan was to escort the mother of Ali Quli (and Bahadur Khan) to the court to offer submission on behalf of her sons. Regarding their *jagirs*, it was agreed that so long as imperial camp was in the neighbourhood, they must not cross the river to reoccupy them. After the arrival of the camp to Agra a *farman* would be issued for the confirmation of their *jagirs*.[1]

While these peace negotiations were in progress, Muiz-ul Mulk, the imperial commander was defeated in Sarvar (Gorakhpur) by Bahadur Khan. Although on the orders of Ali Quli and Munim Khan, Bahadur Khan gave up the elephants and other valuables,[2] but it emboldened the rebels. Hence, in

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1. *Nafais*, 49b; *Tarikh-i Akbari*, 87; Bayazid, 290-91; *Akbarnama*, II, 259-60; *Muntakhab*, II, 82. It appears that the Emperor was apprehensive about the attitude of Munim Khan, hence Khwaja Ghayas-uddin was sent from Jaunpur to watch the proceedings. After the first meeting of Ali Quli and Munim Khan, Khwaja Ghayas went to court to apprise Akbar of the deliberations. Thereafter Khwaja Jahan was sent for signing the final treaty. After his arrival Khwaja Jahan participated in the meeting of the royal officers and the rebel chiefs. Munim Khan took great pains in removing misunderstanding between Ali Quli and Khawaja Jahan, the *Vakil* without whose consent, apparently it was difficult to persuade the Emperor for pardoning the rebels. Cf. Bayazid, 290-91; *Akbarnama*, II, 259-60; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, 620a, says that Khwaja Jahan was empowered to take final decision on the issue of war and peace.

2. Bayazid, 293-94; *Akbarnama*, II, 261-62.

contravention of his promise Ali Quli crossed the Ganges and sent his men to occupy Jaunpur and Ghazipur. When the Emperor came to know of the treachery, he left the camp at Banaras and hastily marched to chastise the rebels.[1] Bayazid gives a different version of the whole course of events. He writes that while Akbar was at Banaras certain nobles who were not happy with the terms of the treaty and other favours shown to Ali Quli persuaded him to make a surprise attack and arrest Ali Quli. The Emperor agreed to it and assigned Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Banaras to Munim Khan and ordered him to follow the royal camp.[2] It is possible that Akbar wanted to create misunderstanding between Munim Khan and Ali Quli because the territories said to have been assigned to Munim Khan were in the jagir of Ali Quli. But the subsequent events clearly indicate that Munim Khan remained stead-fast in his earlier attitude and did his best to save Ali Quli from being captured at Mahmudabad.[3] During this campaign Awaz Khan

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1. Akbarnama, II, 265; Tabaqat, II, 192; Tarikh-i Alfi, 621ab. Akbar left Jaunpur on January 24, 1556 for Banaras, Ali Quli crossed the Ganges and occupied Ghazipur and Mahmudabad that very day.

2. Bayazid, 294-95.

3. Ibid., 295; Akbarnama, II, 265; Tabaqat, II, 192. Akbar left Banaras on February 2, 1566 to deal with Ali Quli who was encamped at Mahmudabad. Munim Khan accompanied the Emperor. The plan to surprise Ali Quli at Mahmudabad was frustrated by Munim Khan. He not only warned Ali Quli, but also delayed the march by several hours, thus providing ample opportunity to him to flee. DARBAR-i AKBARI, 216 refers to Munim Khan's secret message to Ali Quli.

and some other notable Afghan chiefs joined the imperial army and Ali Quli had to fly. He crossed the Ganges and shut himself in the fort of Chillupar.[1] Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan marched to Jaunpur and after releasing the mother of Ali Quli joined him in Bihar.[2] Akbar reached Jaunpur after this incident and proclaimed his determination to remain there till the rebellion was crushed. Ali Quli once again decided to seek the help of Munim Khan and despatched Muhammad Mirak Rizvi. Munim Khan welcomed the offer, but in place of directly involving himself, he requested Mir Murtaza Sharif, Abdullah Sultanpuri and Shaikh Abdun Nabi who were highly respected by the Emperor to persuade him to pardon the rebels.[3] The Emperor accepted the proposal and returned to the capital. Munim Khan and Muzaffar Khan also proceeded towards the capital. Khwaja Jahan, Lashkar Khan and certain other nobles were left to finalise the settlement with Uzbeks.[4] When Munim Khan reached Kara, it came to his

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1. _Tabaqat-i Akbari_, 88; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, 221a; Bayazid, 295-96; _Akbarnama_, II, 266-67. Chillupar same as Barharganj on the left bank of Ghagra, district Gorakhpur, _pargana_ headquarter.

2. _Akbarnama_, II, 267-68; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, 621a.

3. _Akbarnama_, II, 269; _Tabaqat_, II, 194-95; Badauni, II, 84; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, 621ab, writes "The Sayyids, Ulma and the grandees who were in the royal service had been on friendly terms (with the Uzbek officers) and no one wanted that they should be uprooted completely".

4. _Nafais_, 49b; _Akbarnama_, II, 268-69; _Tabaqat_, II, 195.

notice that Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan had crossed the river and were marching towards Agra. Munim Khan wrote them a letter and sent it through Baltu Khan. At this they returned to Jaunpur.[1]

Some misunderstanding arose during this period between Munim Khan and Muzaffar Khan in connection apparently with Munim Khan's attitude towards the Usbeks. Muzaffar Khan left Munim Khan at Etawah and hurriedly proceeded to court. He informed the Emperor about the double dealing of the grandees; as a result many nobles were punished. Munim Khan was not touched; but he learnt to be more 'circumspect'.[2]

When the news of the treaty between the Mughals and Usbeks was made known to Afghans of Bengal, they withdrew their support to the Usbeks. Ali Quli invaded Bengal, but the Afghans assembled in large numbers to face him. A treaty followed negotiations. By this, Ali Quli returned Hasan Khan Batani, while he gained the territories to the west

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1. Bayazid, 297-98, believes that only with the efforts of Munim Khan, the Usbeks were restrained from surprising the imperial armies.

2. Akbarnama, II, 270, Lashkar Khan was removed from the office of Bakhshi. The royal seal which used to be kept in the custody of Khwaja Jahan was withdrawn and he was ordered to be exiled to Mecca. The order, however, was withdrawn. To quote Abul Fazl 'The severity used towards these men which was the retribution of their deeds, caused circumspection on the part of Munim Khan'.

of Garhi, i.e. the whole of Bihar. A little before this event Junaid Karrani, brother's son of Sulaiman Karrani, had joined Akbar's service.[1]

The struggle with the Afghans probably weakened the position of Ali Quli. In the meantime Abdullah Khan Uzbek having been defeated in Malwa came to Ali Quli.[2] Asaf Khan who had fled from the court joined him about this time.[3] Incidentally Mirza Hakim invaded the Panjab towards the end of 1566, and Akbar had to leave Agra for the Panjab.[4] Taking advantage of Akbar's absence the Mirzas also rebelled and joined Ali Quli. This was a heavens-sent gain for the Uzbeks.[5] Their rebellion followed: Ali Quli recited the _khutba_ in the name of Mirza Hakim, despatched his men to invited him and began to occupy imperial territories.[6] The

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1. _Muntakhab_, II, 87, makes reference of another expedition against Afghans which was led by Asaf Khan and Bahadur Khan. Bayazid, 298, adds that Akbar encouraging Afghans against Uzbeks.
2. _Akbarnama_, II, 271.
3. _Ibid._, 271-72.
4. _Ibid._, 274-76.
5. _Ibid._, 279-80; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, 628a. Mr Iqtidar Alam believes that they were instigated to rebel by Ali Quli. See _Life of Munim Khan_, 93.
6. _Tarikh-i Akbari_, 89; _Akbarnama_, II, 284-85; _Muntakhab_, II, 90-91; _Tabaqat_, 201-02. Before the revolt actually started the Uzbek officers met at Sarharpur in March 1567 (_pargana_ in _sarkar_ Jaunpur, _Ain_ (tr.), II, 174). In the discussion Ali Quli proposed that they should invade Bengal and establish themselves there but this was opposed by Iskandar Khan! However, they finally agreed to occupy imperial territories. They not only occupied the regions extending from Awadh to Shergarh, but even crossed the Ganges near Qanauj another army under Bahadur Khan struck at Kara Manikpur and besieged Majnun Khan Qaqshal and Asaf Khan. (_Tarikh-i Alfi_, 628ab; _Akbarnama_, II, 285-89).

situation was serious; Abul Fazl frankly admits that people had started thinking that Akbar was incapable of subduing Uzbeks.[1]

After arranging the affairs of the Panjab, Akbar came to Agra on 20th April 1567. Leaving Munim Khan in Agra, he started against Ali Quli[2] (on May 6, 1567). It appears that Munim Khan was deliberately left at Agra because of the supposition that he favoured reconciliation with the rebels.

The Uzbeks were now left alone to face Akbar. Asaf Khan and the Mirzas left them soon after having joined them; and the Afghans also withdrew. The absence of Munim Khan further weakened their position because within the Mughal nobility no other group was to plead their case.[3] This time, there was no escape from armed contest.

In the battle fought near Jhusi the Uzbeks were defeated. Ali Quli was killed, and Bahadur Khan was made prisoner. Akbar wanted to spare his life but under the pressure of his nobles he was executed. Iskandar Khan and Sulaiman Uzbek fled from the field and took shelter with the Afghans. Ibrahim was arrested; but at Munim Khan's request, he was pardoned. However nothing is known about his subsequent career.[4]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 298.
2. Ibid., 290; Tabaqat, II, 209; Muntakhab, II, 94.
3. It is noteworthy that Munim Khan not only refrained from making any move for peace, but organised a mystic feast to pray for Akbar's victory. Cf. Akbarnama, II, 296.
4. Nafais, 50b, 51a; Arif, 107-9; Akbarnama, II, 298; Tarikh-i Alfi, 63b; Tabaqat, II 213; Badauni, II, 101.

On his return from Patna to Jaunpur, Munim Khan received a letter from Iskandar Khan with a request to intercede on his behalf so that he might obtain pardon. He wrote that Afghans could not be trusted any more because they had killed Sulaiman Usbek who held a jagir near Bhagalpur. They had come to believe that after knowing the details about Bengal, the Usbeks would pass it on to the Emperor and ask him to conquer Bengal.[1] Munim Khan despatched this letter along with his own recommendation to the Emperor. Akbar thereupon pardoned Iskandar Khan and permitted him to join the imperial service. After sometime Iskandar Khan, Yusuf Khan son of Sulaiman Usbek and certain other Usbek nobles came to Jaunpur and along with Munim Khan proceeded to the court. Iskandar Khan was assigned Lucknow and pargana Saran in sarkar Manikpur where he died after some time (1572). Yusuf Khan was imprisoned in Agra.[2]

Yusuf Muhammad son of Sulaiman Usbek who was imprisoned at Agra escaped to Gorakhpur and took shelter with Raja Sansar Chand and also captured the fort of Gorakhpur. Munim Khan despatched an army against him. Worsted in battle, he fled to the Afghans.[3] We have no information about him or any other Usbek noble of Ali Quli's clan thereafter. Thus Akbar finally succeeded in eliminating from his nobility a powerful and old clan group.

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1. Bayazid, 304, 305.
2. Ibid., 307.
3. Akbarnama, III, 21-22. Yusuf Muhammad joined Ludi near Zamania.

It may be added that elimination of the Usbeks from Mughal service under Akbar was not an exception; it was the outcome of a well thought-out policy of Akbar through which the growth of clan group of nobles in his nobility were discouraged. But that does not mean that clan groups of nobles altogether destroyed. Certain clans of nobles were not only retained but new groups were also admitted, though on new conditions limiting and governing the power and conduct of all sections of the nobility.[1]

1. For details of these reforms see Conclusion and chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

Also see Iqtidar Alam Khan, '<u>Life of Munim Khan</u>, 75-76 n.76, and A.J. Qaisar, 'Shahbaz Khan Kamboh', <u>Medieval India - A Miscellany</u>, I

Chapter IV

THE FAMILY OF RAJA BHARMAL KACHHWAHA

Raja Bharmal Kachhwaha was the first Rajput chief to join Mughal service under Akbar and establish matrimonial relations with the Mughal ruling house. Along with him a number of the Kachhwaha chiefs including his sons and grandsons entered Mughal service. They played an important role in the expansion of Mughal Empire. Akbar gave them high ranks, large jagirs and important administrative posts. The Kachhwahas remained the most favourable and trusted nobles from amongst the Rajputs under Akbar and continued to enjoy important position during Jahangir's reign, though initially the family suffered a set back on account of Man Singh's role in the accession crisis at the time of Akbar's death.

Amber was a small state in the north-eastern plains of Rajputana. The dominant chiefs of the region were of the Kachhwaha clan.[1] Besides Amber, places like Deosa, Neota, Luni, Marot and Sambhar, were

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1. The origin and the position of Kachhwaha chiefs before Akbar may be found in the following works.
Rajvir Narain Prasad, Raja Man Singh of Amber, Calcutta, 1966, 1-20; Kunwar Refaqat Ali Khan, Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir, New Delhi, 1976, 1-6; Ahsan Raza Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the Reign of Akbar, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1977, 102-3.

also apparently under their occupation.[1] They had perhaps also established their power in the regions of Lambi Jhari and Amarsar.[2] Abul Fazl calls them as a large body of people; but their numbers were not matched by the size of territory they held. They had not yet consolidated their authority fully in the whole of Dhundhar. They appear to have acquired stray villages and parganas and territorially by the middle of 16th century. A close study of the source material reveals that Amber remained a vassal of Delhi Sultans, states of Mewar and Marwar which ever happened to be stronger. There is a reference to a ancestor of Bhar Mal, Parjun Rai, who is mentioned among the chief samants of Prithviraj Chauhan.[3] Another chief of the Kachhwahas had been noticed among the servants of Maharana Kumbha.[4] Besides, the state was subject to perpetual encroachments from the more powerful Rathors[5] and the Muslim officers posted at Ajmer and Nagor.

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1. Akbarnama, II, 156, Abul Fazl says that Bharmal was the chief of the area. Deosa was held by his brother Rupsi. Neota was under Ram Das Kachhwaha who might or might not have owed allegiance to Kachhwahas of Amber. Sambhar was held by Rai Lunkaran the chief of Shaikhawat sect of the Kachhwahas. Shaikhawats also held Bairath and Rewari in the North. Akbarnama, III, 577. See Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 116.

2. Tod, II, 316. Also see, S.P. Gupta, 'Expansion of the territory of the Kachhwahas in Mughal times', Indian History Congress, 1965, 177-78.

3. Vir Vinod, II, 1269. He is Parjun Rai or Rajun fourth descendant of Dulai Rai. The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, 385, adds that he married a daughter of Prithvi Raj Chohan and was killed while fighting Muhammad Ghauri in 1192.

4. Vir Vinod, II, 1269. He was Kakildeo son of Rajdeo.

5. Nainsi, Pargana ri Vigat, I, 43-45; Tod, II, 19-20.

Prithviraj ascended the throne in 1503. We have very little information about his activities, but he too seems to have been a vassal of the Rana of Mewar.[1] He was succeeded by Puran Mal. The *Akbarnama* and the author of *Vir Vinod* declare that Puran Mal joined Mughal service under Humayun, but they fail to give us information about the circumstance in which he joined and the status he enjoyed. Both of them record however that he was killed in the battle while fighting against the Mirzas in the army of Mirza Hindal.[2]

After the death of Puran Mal, the Kachhwaha state plunged into confusion owing to disputed succession. Conspiracies, *coups* and murders further weakened the position of the Kachhwahas.[3]

Stability was restored to Amber state after the accession of Bharmal on June 25, 1547.[4] His brother Askaran contested his claims, and fleeing to Delhi sought the help of Haji Khan Afghan, the governor of Mewat, Ajmer and Nagor. Haji Khan marched to Amber with a big army but Bharmal was too shrewd to risk a battle and entered into negotiation

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1. *Vir Vinod*, II, 1272-73.
2. *Akbarnama*, III, 606. Dr. Prasad, however, believes that Puran Mal was murdered by conspiracy of Bhim Singh, one of his brothers. Cf. *Raja Man Singh of Amber*, 4-6.
3. *Nainsi Khyat*, II, 13.
4. *Vir Vinod*, II, 1275.

with the invader. Ultimately a compromise was effected. Bharmal was recognised as the ruler of Amber and Askaran was given the territory of Narwar.[1]

After Humayun's return to India and his death, the situation completely changed. Haji Khan had been expelled by the Mughals from Rajputana. After the death of Humayun he attacked Narnaul which was under Majnun Khan Qaqshal.[2] Bharmal acted shrewdly at this juncture; he took possession of the fort and sent Majnun Khan to court and later on handed over the fort to Tardi Beg when he came to chastise Haji Khan.[3] On account of this, Majnun Khan Qaqshal commended Bharmal's 'support and great loyalty' to Akbar. The Emperor thereupon invited him to the court.[4] But soon after Bharmal was again faced with a great crisis. Suja son of Puran Mal who had not been reconciled to Bharmal's accession sought the help of Mirza Sharafuddin, the Mughal governor of Ajmer and Nagor in order to secure his father's _gaddi_. Under the pressure of the joint forces of the Mirza and Suja, Bharmal thought it expedient to come to terms. He promised to pay a fixed tribute and allowed his son Jagannath,

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1. _Nainsi Khyat_, II, 13; _Vir Vinod_, II, 1275 states that Salim Shah assigned Narnaul to Askaran. The auther of _Afsana-i Shahan_ writes that Bharmal won over Haji Khan by offering his daughter in marriage to him. Cf. Muhammad Kabir, _Afsana-i Shahan_ B.M. add 11.633, 178a.
2. _Akbarnama_, II, 20.
3. _Ibid._; _Vir Vinod_, II, 1276-77.
4. _Ibid._, 45.

Raj Singh (son of Askaran) and Khanjar (son of Jagmal) to be kept as hostages by the Mirza.[1]

This seems to have been the position of Kachhwahas soon after Akbar's accession. On the other hand Mughal empire itself was passing through a critical phase. During the regency of Bairam Khan the Mughal nobility was subject to much infighting and the regent was able to maintain his position with the support sometimes of one and sometime of another. Ultimately he was overthrown by the group of those nobles who were close to the Emperor. But the end of regency further extenuated the crisis.[2]

The Mughal nobility comprised chiefly of two racial groups - the Turanis (Chaghtais) and the Iranis (Persian).[3] Of the two, Turani enjoyed predominant position.[4] After the overthrow of Bairam Khan, the senior Turani nobles started behaving arrogantly, and there were frequent rebellions of Turani officers.[5] This made the securing of some indigenous

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1. Akbarnama, II, 155; Vir Vinod, II, 1276-77. Prasad's account is confusing in this context. Cf. Raja Man Singh of Amber, 6.
2. For details see chapters on 'The Family of Bairam Khan', 'The Family of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman' and 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.
3. For the definition of Irani and Turani, see M. Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, 18.
4. Life of Munim Khan, 1. Afzal Husain 'Growth of Irani Element in Akbar's nobility', Indian History Congress, 1975. See also Introduction.
5. Iqtidar Alam Khan 'The Nobility of Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy 1560-80', JRAS 1968, 29-32.

support imperative for the young Emperor. Although certain Afghan chiefs had surrendered, they could not be safely relied upon, especially when Afghan chiefs were still defying Mughal authority. The only alternative was to explore the possibilities of an alliance with the Rajputs and Indian Muslims. Thus admission of these elements into Mughal service became an important part of Akbar's policy.[1]

The difficult position of Bharmal after Akbar's accession facilitated an alliance between the Mughals and the Kachhwahas. If Akbar wanted to admit Rajputs, a weak but large clan which could remain completely loyal to him could be the group with which the execution of the policy could best begin.

Bharmal had already been introduced to Akbar by Majnun Khan Qaqshal. The Raja along with his clansmen visited Agra in 1557 on the invitation of the Emperor. While they were present at the court, their steadfastness in facing an intoxicated elephant left a great impression on Akbar. He is reported to have said 'we will rear you'.[2] This incident

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1. The author of Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 1 writes that Bairam Khan took initiative in establishing friendly relations with the Rajputs. Zakhirat-ul Khawanin also records an interesting conversation between Humayun and Shah Tahmasp of Iran. Shah Tahmasp: "Among Indians which class commands the obedience of big tribes, possess princely grandeur and are brave"? Humayun: "The Afghans and the Rajputs". Shah Tahmasp: "Are they friendly with each other"? Humayun: "No". Shah Tahmasp said: "You cannot win the friendship of the Afghans; deprive them of military service and force them to become merchants and artisans. Establish close relations with the Rajputs and promote them for it is not possible to rule India without controlling the zamindars". Z.K., I, 103-104.

2. Akbarnama, II, 45.

took place during the period of regency, when Akbar practically had no share in the running of government. In the absence of evidence regarding further development of Mughal Rajput relations (with Kachhwahas particularly) we may infer that Bairam Khan either took no initiative or could not get time for this.

Akbar's visit to Ajmer in 1562, which was his first journey towards that region suggests that some decisions about Bharmal's admission to Mughal service had already been taken. At Deosa, Jaimal and his father Rupsi chief of the area, came to pay their homage. On the following day Chaghtai Khan presented Bharmal before Akbar at Sangner. Akbar received him very kindly and after the formal meeting, on the suggestion of Chaghtai Khan, Bharmal offered his daughter in marriage to Akbar. Akbar readily accepted the proposal and gave leave to Chaghtai Khan and Bharmal to make arrangement for the marriage. On his return journey, at Sambhar on March 1562 the marriage was solemnised. The marriage brought its reward immediately for the Kachhwahas. The Kachhwahas hostages Raj Singh and Jagannath were released. Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, son and grandson of Bharmal, were taken into imperial service.[1]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 154-58; Muntakhab, II, 49-50; Tabaqat, II, 155; Ma'asir-i Rahimi, I, 694-95; Vir Vinod, II, 1276. Shyamal Das writes that Bhagwan Das was in the employment of Maharana of Mewar before joining Mughal service. Regarding matrimonial alliance, Shyamal Das adds that Humayun too was desirous of marriage on account of the advice of Shah of Iran.

The admission of the Kachhwahas into the nobility was motivated by self-interest and political considerations. But Akbar also realised the significance of matrimonial alliance, because the relationship of blood among people such as the Rajputs with their strong attachments to ties of blood could create a high sense of family attachment. As the later events show, the matrimonial alliance cemented the political alliance and guaranteed perpetual loyalty on the part of the Kachhwahas.

This alliance had undoubtedly far reaching consequences. It not only led to the rise of the Kachhwahas as an important family or clan in the Mughal nobility; their example was followed by the other ruling clans of Rajputana, viz. those of Jaisalmer, Marwar, Bundi and Bikaner.

We have prepared a detailed chart of offices (including central ministers and governors of the <u>suba</u>) held by the members of the family. The chart also includes total <u>mansab</u> and other minor offices held by the family. A family chart had also been prepared showing all the known members of the family in the Mughal service.[1]

There were predominantly three septs of the Kachhwaha clan, the Rajwats to which Bharmal[2] and his family belonged, the Shaikhawat to

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1. See Appendix 'B' and Family Chart No.4-

2. <u>Z.K.</u>, I, 103, Farid Bhakkari had wrongly x identified Raja Bharmal as <u>Shaikhawat</u>.

which Rai Lankaran belonged and the minor one was Udawat to which Ram Das belonged.

At the time of joining Mughal service the Kachhwahas worked as one clan and they continued to do so till after the last days of Akbar's reign. The differences between the subclans arose at the time of Akbar's serious illness. The Rajawats to which Man Singh belonged put forward the claim of Khusrau, whereas Ram Das the Udawat chief, supported Salim. Subsequently, the Rajawats declined in favour.

After the admission of Kachhwahas in Mughal service, Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh came to court along with Akbar.[1] Bhagwan Das with Akbar served in suppressing the refractory peasants of Paronkh (1562)[2] against Khan-i Zaman (1566-67),[3] in the Chittor expedition (1568)[4], in the siege of Ranthambor (1569)[5]. In 1570 he was appointed to arrange the marriage of the Emperor with the daughter of Rawal Har Rao, the chief Jaisalmer.[6] However, during this period no other relation of Bhagwan Das had been referred to in our sources.

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1. Akbarnama, II, 158.
2. Ibid., 165.
3. Ibid., 265, 291. During the expedition he was given charge of imperial camp twice, once at Banaras and secondly at Shaikhan, a dependency of Manikpur.
4. Ibid., 320. Bhagwan Das described the practice of Jauhar before Akbar during this campaign.
5. Though no direct evidence of his presence in the campaign is available, the presence of his 'servants' implies that he was also present. See Akbarnama, II, 338.
6. Ibid., 339.

In the first Gujarat campaign the Kachhwahas earned a name for loyalty and bravery. During this campaign a large number of Kachhwahas of the family of Bharmal accompanied Akbar. Prominent among them were Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Madhao Singh, Jagannath, Jagmal, Khangar, Rupsi and Bhupat, all of the Rajawat clan. Bhupat a brother of Bhagwan Das was killed in the battle of Sarnal.[1] In the second Gujarat campaign (August 1573) also Bhagwan Das accompanied Akbar[2] and Man Singh was ordered to go and collect Kachhwaha _jagirdars_ and join the Emperor in Gujarat.[3] Man Singh joined Muzaffar Khan near Ujjain in September 1573. But as Akbar had defeated Muzaffar Shah, they were ordered to return. Man Singh thereupon returned to his _jagir_.[4]

When Akbar proceeded on the conquest of Gujarat, Raja Bharmal was appointed incharge of the capital. Badauni says he was appointed _Vazir-i Mutlaq_ but no other contemporary source mentions this appointment. Bharmal, however, was given sufficient powers to take action on his own. He sent an army under his nephew Khangar to the Panjab to check possible

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1. For the details of Gujarat campaign, see _Akbarnama_, III, 4, 6-8, 10-18, 31, 43-56; _Mirat-i Ahmadi_, 91-100; _Tabaqat_, II, 239-252.

2. _Akbarnama_, III, 43, Bhagwan Das was incharge of the _Haram_.

3. _Ibid_., 43, 67, 68. This is the first reference about the _jagir_ of Man Singh but without mentioning the place of assignment. Apparently Amber was recognised as their _jagir_.

4. _Akbarnama_, III, 19.

trouble from Ibrahim Husain Mirza and another army to help Munim Khan in the eastern region.[1]

Bharmal died at Agra in 1574.[2]

After the conquest of Gujarat, Bhagwan Das was appointed leader of an expedition against Rana Pratap.[3] He proceeded with an army by way of Idar, stormed the fortress of Bhadhnagar and took Rawaliya, the zamindar of the area into captivity.[4] Raja Narain Das Rathor of Idar also offered submission.[5] When he reached Gogunda, Rana Pratap sent his son Amar to imperial court as a mark of submission and promised allegiance to Akbar.[6] In October 1573 Bhagwan Das returned to the court with Amar and Rawaliya. The campaign of Bhagwan Das was followed by another campaign in April 1573 under Man Singh, Lashkar Khan and Shah Quli. Bhagwan Das returned to the court in June the same year.[7] In the following year Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and Madhao Singh accompanied the Emperor in his campaign in the eastern provinces.[8] But no details of their activities are furnished.

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1. Muntakhab, II, 151; Akbarnama, III, 19, 35. Abul Fazl states that he had charge of the administration of the capital.
2. Akbarnama, III, 44.
3. Ibid., 64.
4. Ibid., 66.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 87.
8. Ibid.

The services rendered during the Gujarat campaign and in the following year in Rajputana and eastern region raised their position in the hierarchy. In the subsequent years, they were given important administrative responsibilities. From 1576 to 1578, Bhagwan Das and Man Singh along with their clansmen were deputed to subdue Rana Pratap of Mewar.[1] After that they were transferred to the Panjab, where the Kachhwahas were assigned _jagir_.[2] Man Singh was separately given _jagir_ in Sialkot, and Bhagwan Das, Jagannath and Jagmal were deputed to help Said Khan who was appointed Governor of the Panjab.[3] In 1581 Bhagwan Das was appointed co-governor of the Panjab, and after the transfer of Said Khan he was given independent charge of the _suba_. Man Singh, during the same period was given independent charge of the frontiers (Indus region - 1581-85)[4] and later on after the death of Mirza Hakim was made governor of Kabul in 1585.[5] Bhagwan Das and Man Singh remained in charge of the Panjab and Kabul till 1587 when Man Singh was removed from the governorship of Kabul, and Bhagwan Das's _jagirs_ were transferred to Bihar. Man Singh was also

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1. For the details of the activities of Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and other Kachhwahas in Mewar campaign, see _Akbarnama_, III, 166, 175, 185, 190-93, 195-96, 216, 218; _Muntakhab_, II, 224, 228, 235, 239; _Tabaqat_, II, 323, 326-28; _Vir Vinod_, II, 150-53.

2. _Akbarnama_, III, 243.

3. _Ibid._, 262.

4. _Ibid._, 372, 377; _Muntakhab_, II, 295; _Tabaqat_, II, 362. Nizamuddin however says that Kabul was entrusted jointly to Bhagwan Das, Said Khan and Man Singh.

5. _Akbarnama_, III, 336-37, 353, 372, 377, 466-69, 470-73, 486-87.

transferred to Bihar, and he left Agra for Bihar in December 1587. However, we do not know when he took charge of his duties in that province. But Bhagwan Das remained at Lahore till his death on 15th November 1589. He had been made custodian of royal _harem_ and granted _jagir_ of Rohtas in 1589, shortly before his death.

During these years (1578-1587), the Kachhwahas enjoyed great prestige. In 1586 when Akbar reorganised his administration in order to ensure efficiency and better management, and ordered that two offices should be appointed in each suba, Kachhwahas were appointed cogovernors in four _subas_ viz., Ajmer, Agra, Lahore and Kabul.[1] Incidentally the Kachhwahas had the maximum number of appointments and the provinces were contiguous. Besides, they were also given minor administrative duties. In 1583 Akbar introduced some administrative reforms. Raja Askaran along with Sharif Khan was deputed to look after the 'property of deceased persons and conveyance of it to the heirs'.[2] Another department for the maintenance of 'armour and looking after the roads were made over to Jagannath and Qulij Khan'.[3] Besides, the numerical strength of the family combined with the total _mansabs_ held in the family was also higher than

1. _Akbarnama_, III, 511-12. For more details see, Afzal Husain, 'Provincial Governors under Akbar', _Proceedings of Indian History Congress_, 1969
2. _Akbarnama_, III, 404-405.
3. _Ibid._

the other important families of Akbar's reign. The following table[1] would show the relative strength of the three important family groups both numerically and in total mansabs.

Position in 1595

	Mansab	Total No. of nobles
The Family of Bharmal	15,300	11
The Family of Shamsuddin	12,000	8
The Family of Bairam Khan	10,000	7

The continuance of matrimonial relations with the imperial family naturally further raised the position of the Kachhwahas.[2]

This would mean that the Kachhwahas emerged as a very powerful group among nobles of Akbar on account of their being a large clan, and a powerful group within the nobility. But the few references which we get would indicate that whenever and wherever Akbar suspected any fault or lapse on their part, he was quick to express disapproval and take action. For example, during the Mewar campaign (1576-78) although Man Singh achieved a great victory at Haldighati as Akbar was not satisfied

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1. For reference, see Appendix.'A'

2. Afzal Husain, 'Marriages among Mughal Nobles as an Index of Status and Aristocratic Integration', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1972.

with his performance and subsequently he was censured.[1] Similarly, Bhagwan Das was also reprimanded because of his inactivity in Rana Pratap affairs.[2] In 1577 when Shahbaz Khan Kamboh was appointed supreme commander of Mewar expedition, he sent back both Bhagwan Das and Man Singh on the ground that as 'they were _zamindars_ there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber'.[3] Akbar did not react adversely to this surprisingly bold action of the commander. Similarly in 1585 Bhagwan Das had also to suffer, when Akbar disapproved of the treaty which he had concluded on his own with Yusuf Shah of Kashmir, arrested the Kashmiri ruler and declined to ratify the treaty.[4] This naturally shattered the confidence of Bhagwan Das, and in the same year when he was appointed Governor of Kabul, he laid down certain conditions with regard to his authority before he could assume charge of the province. According to Abul Fazl, 'Bhagwan Das propounded certain improper desire and the Emperor surmising madness restrained him from going'.[5] Akbar

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1. _Akbarnama_, III, 176, 185. Abul Fazl says that Akbar was displeased with him due to wrong reports made against Man Singh. But Nizamuddin and Badauni are specific. _Muntakhab_, II, 235, 239; _Tabaqat_, II, 326.

2. In October 1576, Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and Qutubuddin were sent as vanguard of imperial forces under Akbar. Bhagwan Das and Qutubuddin were censured because of their failure to capture Rana. See, _Akbarnama_, III, 190-93, 195; _Tabaqat_, II, 326-28; _Muntakhab_, II, 242.

3. _Akbarnama_, III, 218; _Tabaqat_, II, 340-41.

4. _Akbarnama_, III, 481, 488; _Muntakhab_, II, 352.

5. _Akbarnama_, III, 491.

thereupon appointed Sultan Danial as Governor of Kabul. But soon after Bhagwan Das repenting, withdrew his conditions and Akbar reappointed him as governor of Kabul.[1] However, after reaching Sarai Khairabad across Indus he suddenly lost his balance of mind and attempted suicide.[2] Badauni connects this incident with Bhagwan Das's humiliation over the Kashmir treaty. He believes that 'in order to save his self conduct and sense of honour, he struck himself with a dagger'.[3] He was removed to Attock and royal physicians were sent for his treatment. Bhagwan Das returned to Lahore after his recovery and looked after the royal harem.[4] Bhagwan Das died in 1589 at Lahore.[5]

Man Singh was also removed from the <u>suba</u> of Kabul and the command of subduing the Roshanias upon allegations that the Rajputs behaved badly with the local people, and Man Singh did not look closely into "the case of the oppressed.' The other charge against Man Singh was his inaction in crushing the Roshanias.[6]

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1. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 491.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., 492.
3. <u>Muntakhab</u>, II, 352.
4. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 492, 525, 537. On April 26, 1589 when Akbar went on a visit to Kashmir, charge of Lahore was given to Bhagwan Das, Qulij Khan and Todar Mal.
5. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 570.
6. <u>Ibid</u>., 517-18, 520-21, 525.

These incidents clearly show that the Kachhwahas were not given any latitude, and were treated like any other set of nobles.

Apart from these actions which Akbar took to keep the Kachhwahas under his control, Akbar, from the very beginning of their joining the Mughal service, did not follow a uniform policy towards the Kachhwahas in the matter of promotions. After the marriage of Bharmal's daughter with Akbar and in subsequent year a large number of the Kachhwahas were admitted to Mughal service, and their services were utilised in many important campaigns. But a close study of the careers of the leading members of the family would show that promotions in ranks and important official duties were given only to Bharmal, his sons and grandsons. Rupsi, Jagmal and Askaran the brothers of Bharmal were given mansabs but with the exception of Askaran none of the two received a higher rank or any important administrative appointment. Besides Rupsi's son Jaimal and grandson Udai Singh[1] were also not given promotions in service; and

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1. Rupsi: He was present in 1572-73 in the Gujarat campaign. After that he stayed at his jagir in Deosa. The Ain's list includes him among the nobles of 1000, but according to Nizamuddin his mansab was 1500. Akbarnama, II, 156, III, 49-50, 163; Tabaqat, II,

   Jagmal: He was also present in the conquest of Gujarat. Since then no other appointment is mentioned. He attained the rank of 1000. Akbarnama, II, 196; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 127; Ain, 105.

   Jaimal son of Rupsi: He was present in the Gujarat campaign; Afterwards he was sent with Safdar Khan against Duda son of Rai Surjan. In 1583 he died at Chausa on his way to Bengal. His rank is not mentioned. Akbarnama, II, 162, III, 49-50, 184, 402.

   Udai Singh son of Jaimal: He apparently was in the service of Rai Lonkaran.

ultimately his family went into oblivion. Similarly, Jagmal's[1] family and the nephews of Bharmal, viz. Mohan Das, Sur Das and Palkusi were also neglected. Even from amongst the sons of Bharmal also only Bhagwan Das and Jagannath were given higher ranks and important official duties. Bhupat, Salahdi and Banka remained insignificant throughout their life. With a little difference, we have a similar case with the family of Shamsuddin Atka. The brothers of Shamsuddin were retained in service but they were not given independent charges, and after their deaths, their sons were given minor ranks. Hence it appears that Akbar from the very beginning abhorred particular families monopolising _mansabs_ or official positions. He had made an exception in recruiting large number of nobles from the Kachhwaha clan as a political necessity, but in essence his policy remained unchanged in respect of the Kachhwahas also. Like the Atkas, the Kachhwahas also were dispersed all over the Empire. It appears that till the Gujarat conquest all the Kachhwahas worked together; but after that Jaimal, Khangar and Raja Askaran were not posted together with Bhagwan Das and Man Singh.[2] However, Bhagwan Das, his brother

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1. Khangar son of Jagmal: He was sent by Bharmal with a big force towards Delhi to check the Mirzas in 1573. After that in 1576 he served with Man Singh against Rana Pratap. He was also despatched to serve under Shahbaz Khan Kamboh in Orissa and Bengal. Abul Fazl has not given his rank but Nizamuddin puts him among the nobles of 2000. _Akbarnama_, III, 35, 166, 410, 439-40; _Tabaqat_, II
   Raghas Das son of Khangar: He served in the Deccan, but had not been included in the list of nobles of Akbar. _Takmila_, III, 80

2. For Jaimal and Khangar see supra. Askaran in 1577 was sent with Sadiq Khan against Madhukar. In 1579 he went with Todar Mal to Bihar. In 1585 he was despatched to Malwa with Mirza Aziz Koka. In 1586 he was appointed cogovernor of Ajmer. In 1587 he was sent against Madhukar. _Akbarnama_, III, 229-30, 261, 287, 307, 372, 457, 464, 511, 526.

Jagannath and their sons remained apparently together until their transfer to the Panjab, where they were given *jagirs*. But subsequently Akbar started dispersing them too. Man Singh was given a separate *jagir* in Sialkot, and sometimes afterwards he was also given independent charge of the Indus region. Jagannath served Prince Murad in Kabul and after that he was given independent command of the Mewar campaign in 1584. Since then he usually served independently or with other Mughal nobles. Similarly Madhao Singh also served with other Mughal nobles. Although because of their high *mansabs* they received extensive *jagirs* outside Rajasthan, their 'home *zamindari*' or *watan*, was really quite small, comprising Amber and a few other parganas. They could not, therefore, on their own, compete with the great ruling families of Rajasthan. Thus their dependence on imperial will must have always been considerable. Moreover, the Kachhwaha clan was far from being a homogeneous one. Past family rivalries continued after they had joined Mughal service; and because of the meteoric rise of certain members of the family a section of the Kachhwaha nobles grew jealous of them and even showed their resentment before the Emperor. As early as 1572 during the Gujarat campaign, Rupsi misbehaved with Akbar, and the matter would have taken serious turn, but for Bhagwan Das who intervened and secured pardon for him.[1] On another

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1. *Akbarnama*, III, 49-50.

occasion when Akbar fell down from his horse while playing polo and it was rumoured that he was dead, certain Kachhwaha nobles rebelled and expelled imperial officers.[1] Again in 1578 while the assignment of jagirs to the Kachhwaha family in the Panjab was being considered, Achla, Mohan Das, Sur Das and Tilkusi brother's son of Bhagwan Das, rebelled and fled to their home town Baoli in sarkar Ranthambor. We do not have evidence of the exact cause of their flight, but it appears they might have quarrelled over their share of jagirs with Bhagwan Das who was supposed to be the head of the family. Dastan Khan the Mughal officer posted in the area out of respect of the Kachhwahas tried to put down the trouble peaceably. In the meantime Adam Tajband brought orders from the court that if they did not submit through persuasion, they were to be punished. Hence in the encounter that took place between the rebels and Dastan Khan, Achla and the three brothers were killed; one of them fatally wounded Dastan Khan before he died.[2]

After the death of Bhagwan Das in 1589, Man Singh was given title of Raja (and the territory of Amber) and promoted to the rank of 5000.[3] During his stay in Bihar he brought to submission Puran Mal,

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1. Akbarnama, III, 321.
2. Ibid., 326-27.
3. Ibid., 537.

Sangram and Anant Chauras, the refractory chiefs of the area. He also conquered Orissa in 1592.[1] Man Singh was given over-all charge of Bengal in 1594, being made the <u>ataliq</u> of Prince Khusrau.[2] While he was still holding charge of Bengal, in 1599 he was required to take Prince Salim in an expedition against Rana of Mewar.[3] On his request his eldest son Jagat Singh was made deputy governor of Bengal. Jagat Singh died before he could take up the charge, hence Maha Singh son of Jagat Singh who was very young was appointed in his place; and Pratap Singh, brother of Man Singh, was made his guardian. But they could not control the Afghan rebels,[4] and Man Singh had to return to Bengal.[5] In the last years of Akbar he was summoned to the court. He reached Agra in August 1605 and promoted to the rank of 7000/6000.[6]

The Kachhwahas remained one of the leading families during the reign of Akbar. They continued to obtain high ranks although after 1587 only Man Singh was appointed Governor. But the numerical strength

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1. For details of Man Singh's activities in Bihar, see <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 579-81, 611-3, 615, 631-32. Also see <u>The Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir</u>, 99-107.

2. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 650.

3. <u>Ibid</u>., 757.

4. <u>Ibid</u>., 763.

5. For Man Singh's activities in Bengal, see <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 770, 784, 787-88; <u>Takmila</u>, III, 808, 821, 824, 827.

6. <u>Iqbalnama</u>, 510; <u>Takmila</u>, III, 838-39.

as well as total *mansab* held in the family remained highest as compared to any other family of nobles at the death of Akbar.[1] Besides, by the marriage of Khusrau with the daughter of Mirza Aziz Koka, the two families seem to have entered into an agreement; and by pooling their resources they conspired to enthrone Khusrau in place of Salim. But they could not succeed in their endeavour, as a result both the families suffered an eclipse during the reign of Jahangir.[2]

Jahangir upon his accession entered into a commitment to confirm all nobles of his father in their ranks and offices.[3] Man Singh accordingly retained as governor of Bengal and the overall position of Kachhwahas in terms of *mansabs* held by them at the death of Akbar was not basically altered. As a matter of fact after the accession, certain Kachhwaha nobles were given promotion and there was a substantial increase in their *sawar* rank (from 25300/9500 to 25300/18500).[4]

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1. Following Kachhwahas nobles of Bharmal's family were alive at the death of Akbar.

1. Man Singh	7000/6000	
2. Jagannath	5000	
3. Raj Singh	4000	
4. Madhao Singh	3000/2000	
5. Sakat Singh	1600/ 300	
6. Maha Singh	2000/ 300	
7. Bhao Singh	1000/ 500	
8. Pratap Singh	1000	
9. Salhadi	700/ 400	For references see Appendix. A

2. For the details of the conspiracy, see 'Conclusion'.
3. *Tuzuk*,4-5. For details see 'Conclusion'.
4. Following Kachhwaha nobles were promoted.

1. Jagannath	5000/3000
2. Raj Singh	4000/3000
3. Bhao Singh	2000/1000

Yet Khusrau's rebellion revived Jahangir's suspicions, and Man Singh was removed from the governorship of Bengal in 1606, and no other charge being given to him.[1] He left Bengal as desired by the Emperor but stayed at his jagir in Rohtas despite successive orders of recall.[2] He came back to court only after Rohtas was assigned to Kishwar Khan, in 1608.[3] In the same year he was appointed to the Deccan to serve under the command of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. This was for the first time since 1586 that Man Singh was deputed to serve under the command of another noble. Although he had very intimate relations with Abdur Rahim,[4] but still such a subordinate appointment could not but have been regarded by Man Singh as a humiliation. The author of Nuskha-i Dilkusha states that while they were serving in the Deccan, one day

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1. Tuzuk, 37; Iqbalnama, 19; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 669-73. Cf. R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall of Mughal Empire, 368 where it is wrongly stated that Man Singh was transferred to Bihar. During the same period Jahangir Quli Khan was appointed Governor of Bihar. Also see, 'The Family of Nur Jahan' 90-94.

2. Tuzuk, 65.

3. Ibid.; Baharistan-i Ghaibi, I, 144-45, 157-59. Inayat Ali Zaidi relying on the authority of Hawkins, who had placed him among the nobles of 5000, writes that Man Singh's mansab was reduced around 1608 when he came to the court. In the absence of any other contemporary evidence, Hawkins' evidence regarding mansabs cannot be relied upon, because his list is not very authentic. Cf. Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The Political role of Kachhwaha Nobles during Jahangir's Reign' Indian History Congress, 1975.

4. Z.K., I, 31, Abdur Rahim's children always addressed Man Singh as Dadaji (grandfather). When Man Singh entered the imperial service at the age of eleven, he was asked to look after and play with the child who later on became Khan Khanan.

Man Singh asked Khan Khanan about the delay in the conquest of the Deccan. The Khan Khanan replied 'You have come back after concluding the affairs of Usman Afghan in Purab (east) and have been appointed my subordinate. If I end the present war quickly, under what noble would I be deputed to serve'?[1] This statement clearly reflects the frustration of the Akbarshahi nobility and must have shaken their confidence in the Emperor. Jahangir himself made no secret of his dislike of the old nobility, particularly of Man Singh and Mirza Aziz the 'old wolves' of the Empire.[2]

Man Singh reached the Deccan in 1609 after about a year of his appointment. His presence made no change in the Deccan war because of the inherence, misunderstanding and lack of cooperation among the Mughal commanders posted in the Deccan. He died at Ellichpur (Achalpur) in 1614.[3] Man Singh's successor, Bhao Singh who rose to the rank of 5000/3000 also remained at the court without any appointment being given to him till 1619. He was then ordered to go to the Deccan where he died in 1621.[4] Maha Singh, son of Jagat Singh, who held the rank of 2000 after the accession of Jahangir, was also not given any important assignment.

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1. Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i Dilkusha, Rotograph copy, B.M., 8a.

2. Tuzuk, 65.

3. For details of the Deccan campaign, see Tuzuk, 70-71, 130; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 511-17. Also see chapters on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi' and 'The Family of Abdullah Firoz Jang'.

4. For details of Bhao Singh's career, see Tuzuk, 10, 66, 81, 88, 140, 218-19.

In 1616 he was sent to the Deccan where he died in 1617 in Berar.[1] The other Kachhwaha nobles Raja Jagannath, Madhao Singh and Raj Singh were similarly not given any important administrative duties, though they retained their mansab.[2]

This lack of promotions (in terms of mansabs as well as administrative appointments) shows that a change in the policy towards Kachhwahas came about during Jahangir's reign. William Hawkins who lived in Agra between 1609 and 1611 states that 'This king hath diminished his chief captains which were Rasbootes (Rajputs) and Genteles, and naturall Indians and hath preferred Mahmumetans (weak sprited men, void of resolution) in such sort that what this mans father, called Eckbar Padasha got of the Deccan this king Salim Shah, beginneth to loose'.[3] Mirza Aziz Koka has also accused Jahangir of promoting Persians and Indian Muslims at the expense of Chaghtais and Rajputs.[4] The author of

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1. See Tuzuk, 7-8, 17, 53, 111, 156, 168, 176, 217, 266; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 173-74. His highest rank was 4000/3000.

2. Raja Jagannath, after being transferred from Mewar where he served under Asaf Khan he remained without any assignment till 1609. In that year he along with his son was transferred to the Deccan to serve under Parvez. He died in the same year. See, Tuzuk, 16, 74, 148, 156; Vir Vinod, II, 253. Madhao Singh was confirmed to his previous rank and given a flag in 1605, but was not given any assignment. See, Tuzuk, 17, 55, Asad Beg, 29-30. Raj Singh held the rank of 4000. He served in the Deccan and died there in 1615. Tuzuk, 148.

3. Early Travels in India, ed. William Foster, London 1927, 106-107.

4. For details of Mirza Aziz Koka's complaint see, chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

Tarikh-i Khan Jahani also states that Jahangir on account of certain misdeeds of Man Singh, ordered the destruction of the Rajputs. Upon the alleged intervention of Khan-i Jahan Lodi the order was withdrawn and Man Singh was once again received favour.[1]

The evidence cited above indicates that there was a general feeling that Jahangir had reversed the policy of Akbar not only in respect of the Kachhwahas who had conspired against him, but the Rajputs as a whole. The table given below may help us to understand the correct picture.[2]

	Total No.	*Zat*	*Sawar*
Rajput nobles at the death of Akbar	17	41000	10450
Rajput nobles at the end of 6th regnal year of Jahangir	19	51200	21300
Rajput nobles at the end of 15th year of Jahangir	14	34500	20650

The table shows that after the accession of Jahangir the position of Rajputs improved considerably (in absolute terms at any rate). But as a matter of fact the rise in numbers and *mansabs* was not because of any favour towards Rajputs, but because of a general policy under which

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1. *Tarikh-i Khan Jahani*, II, 497-98.

2. For full reference of the table, see Appendix 'A' .

all those nobles were promoted who were his favourites during his prince-hood or those who helped him in the accession crisis. For example Bir Singh Deo Bundela was admitted in service and in a short period of six years was raised to the rank of 4000/2000. Ram Das Kachhwaha was also raised to the rank of 3000 for the service he had rendered during the accession crisis. Promotions were given after the accession to some other Kachhwaha nobles.[1] Mewar house was also raised to higher rank.

Although as we see that the position of the Rajputs in mansab increased after the accession of Jahangir they ceased to play any important role in the working of Mughal government. After Man Singh not a single Rajput noble was appointed governor or given independent command of an important campaign.[2] Most of the Rajput nobles remained posted in the Deccan. Moreover after the death of Rajput nobles of higher rank, their sons were not given the same ranks; sometimes no rank at all was given to them. We have several examples from the Kachhwahas to illustrate this: Madhao Singh and Jagannath died in 1608 and 1609, Karamchand son of Jagannath was given the rank of 2000/1500 while Madhao Singh's sons were apparently not given any mansabs.[3] Similarly after the death of

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1. See Appendix 'B'-4 for details of mansab promotion.

2. For details see 'The Family of Nur Jahan', 90-94. Also see, Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The Political Role of Kachhwaha Nobles during Jahangir's Reign'.

3. Tuzuk, 74. At the time of his death Jagannath had the rank of 5000/3000.

Maha Singh and Raj Singh, their sons were admitted to service but were given minor ranks. Jai Singh son of Maha Singh was given the rank of 1000/500 and Ram Das of 1000/400.[1] Similarly in other Rajput clans also rate of promotions was slow if we compare them with promotions given to Turani and Irani nobles.[2]

The resumption of jagirs of Abhay Ram, Bijay Ram and Shyam Ram because of some acts of misbehaviour and the refusal of the Rajput nobles including the Kachhwahas who were present at the court to stand surety for them indicate that none of them were prepared to come forward to help an erring member of their own faction apparently on account of Jahangir's hostile attitude. Consequently when the brothers refused to be disarmed, they were attacked by the imperial soldiery and were killed in the skirmish.[3] The punishment given to them was unusual if we study such other cases even during the reign of Jahangir.[4]

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1. Tuzuk, 148, 192. Maha Singh and Raj Singh had the ranks of 4000/3000 and 4000, respectively. After Maha Singh's death, his son Jai Singh was given the rank of 1000/1000 (Tuzuk, 192).

2. See Appendix, A.

3. Tuzuk, 29-30; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 38ab; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 669-70.

4. For a detailed discussion on Mughal Emperor's attitude towards rebels, see Afzal Husain, 'Emperor's Relations with the Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1977.

Jahangir also interfered in the issue of succession after the death of Man Singh. Disregarding the claims of Maha Singh who was the rightful heir of the gaddi of Amber according to Rajput custom (being the eldest son of the eldest son of the deceased chief) Jahangir granted the 'Tika' to Bhao Singh.[1] He was promoted to the rank of 4000/3000 and given the title of 'Mirza Raja'.[2] By this move Jahangir might have thought of creating a rift among the Kachhwahas. At the same time Bhao Singh who was offered the 'tika' would naturally feel obliged to the Emperor and became a close ally to him.[3]

Maha Singh, however, was also given promotion of 500 sawar and the territory of Garha as Inam. In the following year (1615) he was also given title of Raja, and raised to the rank of 4000/3000 in 1616.[4]

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1. Tuzuk, 130, Jahangir himself states 'The chiefship and headship of their family according to the Hindu custom should go to Maha Singh son of Jagat Singh the Raja's (Man Singh's) eldest son who died in latter's life time'. See also Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 17.

   After the death of Raja Jai Singh in 1616, Jahangir refused to confer the title of 'Raja' on his son Ram Das also. After two years, however, on repeated petitions, the title was given.

   Cf. Tuzuk, 138, 164, 181.

2. Ibid., 130.

3. Ibid., 130, Jahangir in this connection states 'As from the time when I was prince he had done much service with me ..... I did not accept him (Maha Singh) but I dignified Bhao Singh with the title of 'Raja'.

4. Ibid.

Bhao Singh remained Raja of Amber till his death in 1621. On his death the 'tika' was given to Jai Singh son of Maha Singh because Bhao Singh had no son. The *pargana* of Amber his native place was assigned to him in *jagir* according to the standing custom in order that his retainers might not be dispersed.

As a result of these measures there seemed to have taken place a definite decline in the fortunes of the Kachhwaha nobles. The table below[1] gives the total ranks known to have been held by the Kachhwahas in various years.

	Zat	Sawar
At the death of Akbar 1605	25300	9500
At the end of 6th year of Jahangir (1612)	16000	13500
1624	10500	6900

The seeming increase of *sawar* rank between 1605 and 1612 is misleading. The *sawar* rank held by a number of Kachhwaha nobles in 1605 are not known. Thus the actual total of *sawar* for 1605 must have greatly exceeded the figure of 9500 shown by us.

Despite Jahangir's policy of restricting their *mansabs*, the entire Kachhwaha clan including Jai Singh, Girdhar Ram Das Narwari and

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1. For reference, see Appendix, A.

Narain Das remained loyal to Jahangir during the rebellion of Shahjahan.[1] The only exception was Manrup grandson of Jagannath who joined Khurram. Ram Das Narwari was present in the battle of Bilochpur and got promotion of 1000/1000.[2] Jai Singh after being summoned to the court was promoted to the rank of 3000/1400. He was sent along with Parvez and Mahabat Khan to pursue Khurram. Ram Das Narwari, Narain Das and Girdhar went with him.[3]

Jai Singh and other Kachhwahas first served the imperial army in the Deccan;[4] they were then sent to Allahabad[5] against the rebels. After the defeat of Khurram in Bengal, Jai Singh returned with Mahabat Khan and Parvez to the Deccan. About the same time Mahabat Khan's relation's from the court deteriorated and he was replaced by .. - Khan Jahan Lodi.[6] It seems that Jai Singh was sympathetic to Mahabat Khan and he did not

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1. Tuzuk, 360; Iqbalnama, 201-202.

2. Badshahnama, I, 122-23; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 516.

3. Tuzuk, 359-60; Iqbalnama, 204-05; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 159b, 161b, 162b.

4. Jahangir's farman to Jai Singh, State Archives, Bikaner N-2 dated July 20th 1623. I am thankful to Mr Inayat Ali Zaidi of Jamia Millia, who showed me the copies of these farmans.
Ibid., N-3. He was granted a khilat and ordered to serve under Parvez and Mahabat Khan.

5. Iqbalnama, 204-05, 222-23, 231- 33; farman N-4; A Dutch chronicle, 69-70; Vir Vinod, II, 286-87 refers to the battle fought near Jaunpur in which Jai Singh distinguished himself.

6. For details, see chapters on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi' and 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

fully approve of his removal. Jahangir thereupon not only directed him to cooperate with Khan-i Jahan but even warned him.[1] None of the Kachhwahas came out to support Mahabat Khan although Mahabat Khan sought their help.

When Khurram came to know of these developments he sought to persuade Jai Singh to help him.[2] But Jai Singh remained neutral. He stayed back in the Deccan busy in the fighting against Ahmadnagar.[3] The court party also wanted him to remain in the Deccan.[4] For his services, he was promoted to the rank of 4000/2500, given the title of 'Raja' and assigned Chatsu in *jagir*.

At the time of Jahangir's death Jai Singh was still in the Deccan. He left the province for the north along with Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Gaj Singh. He had also received a *farman* from Dawar Bakhsh.[5] But with Shahjahan marching through Gujarat into Rajasthan, Jai Singh separated himself from Khan Jahan Lodi and proceeded to Ajmer to join Shahjahan.[6]

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1. Jahangir's *farman* to Jai Singh Bikaner, N-7.

2. For Jai Singh's relations with Mahabat Khan, see chapter on 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

3. For Khurram's letter to Jai Singh, see Inayat Ali Zaidi, 'The Political Role of Kachhwaha Nobles during Jahangir's Reign', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1975.

4. Jahangir's *farman* to Jai Singh. It forbids Jai Singh and Gaj Singh to come to Court.

5. Dawar Bakhsh's *farman* to Jai Singh, Bikaner Archives, N-176.

6. *Iqbalnama*, 300. For more details, see chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

Thus we see that the Kachhwahas, because of their cooperation and loyalty during the rebellion of Shahjahan were given promotions,[1] but none of them was assigned an important office. On the whole it may be concluded that Mirza Aziz Koka's complaint regarding Rajputs was not absolutely incorrect. Although Jahangir continued to keep in service Kachhwahas and also admitted certain new elements of Rajput in his nobility on account of political compulsions, yet their rate of promotion was slow and they were not given important charges.

The position of the Kachhwahas after the accession of Shahjahan appears to have considerably declined. Raja Jai Singh who came to the court soon after accession was given promotion of only 500 *sawar*[2] which was a minor one as compared to the promotions given to other nobles during the same period. During the succeeding years, when he was raised to higher rank, for quite some time, he was not given an independent command. The charge of a *suba* was not given to any of the Kachhwaha nobles in the entire reign of Shahjahan.[3]

Raja Man Rup the only Kachhwaha noble who had joined Shahjahan

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1. In 1621 after the death of Bhao Singh who held the rank of 5000, his successor Jai Singh was given rank of 3000/1400. During 1618 to 1624 following Kachhwaha nobles were promoted:

   1. Ram Das 2000/1000   2. Chatrasal 1500/1000
   3. Narain Das 2000/2000   4. Karam Chand 2000/1500.

   For reference, see Appendix.

2. *Badshahnama*, I, 120. He was promoted to the rank of 4000/3000.

3. M. Athar Ali, 'Provincial Governors under Shahjahan's, *Medieval India - A Miscellany*, Vol. III, 60-112. For a biography of Mirza Raja Jai Singh see *B.N.*, III, 117-18 and *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, III, 568-77.

during his rebellion was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000.[1] But after his death, his son Gopal Singh was given the rank of 900/700 only. The other Kachhwana nobles Ram Das Marwari and Chatrasal who held the ranks of 2000/1000 and 1500/1000 were not given promotions over their previous ranks.[2]

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1. Badshahnama, I, 299. Man Rup was son of Karam Chand.

2. Ibid., 299, 305.

Chapter V

THE FAMILY OF BARHA SAYYIDS

The Barha Sayyids were an important group among the Mughal nobility, though their fame today rests most on the 'Sayyids Brothers' who dominated the court of Farrukh Siyar. In the period under study their repute as warriors seems to have been considerable, but they seem generally to have remained *mansabdars* of moderate or low ranks. None of them was appointed governor or Central Minister.

An attempt was made by Blochmann to identify members of the Barha family. He also gave biographical notices of a few of them. Except for this, no other attempt has been made to reconstruct their position in our period though references have been made about them.[1] The contemporary sources notably *Akbarnama*, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* and *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*[2] introduce us to a large number of persons of Barha families;[3] and these works have formed the main source for the present study.

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1. For example, Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility of Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy, 1560-80,' *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1966.

2. Abul Fazl, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1887; Jahangir, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Aligarh, Ghazipur; Fareed Bhakkari, MS. Habib Ganj Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, and ed. Dr Syed Moinul Haq, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi.

3. See Appendix; A & B.

A brief history of the family may be helpful, to begin with. Blochmann, Atkinshon and Nevill have given family charts followed by a brief history.[1] If we examine them we come across certain errors in their chronology. Here we have also utilised the history of Bilgram Sayyids who also claim to be of the same branch. According to their traditions, the ancestor of the Barhas, Abu Farah left Medina because of the persecution of the contemporary rulers and came to Wasit in Iraq. From Wasit he went to Ghaznin and from there his four sons came to India in the army of Shihabuddin Ghauri. These four sons, Sayyid Abul Fazl, Sayyid Abul Fazail, Sayyid Daud, Sayyid Najmuddin, of Abu Farah settled in Panjab in four different villages called Tihanpur, Chatbanauri, Jajner and Kundli. The families retained these names when they migrated to localities within the present Muzaffarnagar District of Uttar Pradesh and are still known by these names. As to their name Barha, Jahangir has himself explained its origin "they call twelve bara in Hindi. As in the Duab these are twelve villages near each other which are the native country of these Sayyids they have become known as Sayyids of Barha".[2]

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1. Ain-i Akbari, I (tr.), Notes on Barha Sayyid. Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of North Western Provinces of India, Vol. III, Muzaffarnagar District; District Gazetteers of United Provinces, Muzaffarnagar District.

2. For more details about the family history of Barhas, see Blochmann, 428-29 and Atkinson, 589-90; Tuzuk, 366.

There was a controversy during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir regarding their genealogy. Once, in the court of Akbar some nobles questioned Sayyid Mahmud Barha about his ancestry, Sayyid Mahmud jumped in a fire nearby saying, that since he is a true Sayyid the fire would not hurt him.[1] Jahangir himself notes that 'some people make remarks about their lineage but their bravery is convincing proof of their being Sayyid'.[2] Farid Bhakkari confesses that he does not know much about the family.[3] Apart from the question of ancestry, the more interesting historical question is what they were before entering Mughal nobility. It is said that they worked as menial servants in the army of Humayun.[4] Perhaps on this account the Sayyids call each other among themselves as dogs, donkeys, oilmen, washermen, etc.

However, it is difficult to conclude any thing on the basis of available data. It would seem that they developed considerable influence over local zamindars. It is said that after the death of one Raja Ram Chand of Sambhalera, Sayyid Hasan of Chhatrauri House appropriated his whole estate at the request of the widow rani.[5]

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1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 375-77.
2. Tuzuk, 362-64.
3. Z.K.(MS)101b.
4. Nevill, 162.
5. Ibid., 168.

It had not been possible to trace the position of the Barha Sayyids before they joined Mughal service. But it appears that they enjoyed some position in the service of the Afghans. From the Ain also we could not gather whether they had zamindari rights in the villages, as in its listing of zamindar castes in sarkar of Saharanpur, it only enters Sayyids in some parganas, and not, especially the Sayyids of Barha.[1]

Sayyid Mahmud Barha of the Kundliwal House was the first Barha Sayyid to have joined Mughal service. Before entering the Mughal service he was in the employment of Iskandar Afghan. He deserted Iskandar during the siege of Mankot and came over to the Mughals. It is said that he joined the personal service of Bairam Khan.[2] When Bairam Khan sent an advance guard under the command of Khan-i Zaman, Sayyid Mahmud was also despatched with him.[3] After the victory of Panipat in the 2nd r.y. he was despatched against Haji Khan in the expedition against Ajmer or Nagor.[4] In 1558 he was despatched along with Adham Khan against the rebellious Bahadurya tribes of Hatkant. He was also deputed for the conquest of the fort Jaitaran in Jodhpur.[5] Later on when the Emperor

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1. Ain-i Akbari, II (tr.), see account of twelve subas.
2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 375-77; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 18.
3. Akbarnama, II, 33.
4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 375-77; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, 46, 66.
5. Akbarnama, II, 78; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 375-77; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 78.

was alienated from Bairam Khan, he joined imperial service and received a *jagir* in Delhi.[1]

Very probably Sayyid Mahmud joined Mughal service as a political gamble, because he found the position of the Afghans to be very precarious. But except him no other Barha Sayyid is noticed in our sources till after the overthrow of Bairam Khan.

However, when the reins of government came into the hands of the Emperor and he was faced with a crisis in his nobility, he seems to have introduced two new elements of Indian origin viz. the Rajputs and the Indian Muslims to counter the old nobility.[2] The admission of Barha Sayyids, who were admitted in large numbers after the overthrow of Bairam Khan, would seem to support this view.

Akbar introduced many other Shaikhzada families[3] but no other family comes equal to Barhas except the family of Shaikh Mubarak and

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1. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, II, 375-77.

2. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility of Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1966.

3. Shaikhzadas of Fathpur Sikri and Shaikhzadas of Nagor. Akbar also established matrimonial relations with the Shaikhzadas of Delhi and Agra. See *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, 61-62 and also Iqtidar Alam Khan 'The Nobility of Akbar and Development of his Religious Policy'. The Sayyids of Amroha were also admitted in service by Akbar and a number of them were given *mansabs*. But they had no relationship with the Barha Sayyids. For a detailed history of Amroha Sayyids, see Jalal Ahmad Naqvi, *Tarikh-i Amroha* (Urdu), I, Hyderabad Deccan, 1934.

Shaikh Salim Chishti who had special relations with the Emperor. However, even these two families could not count so many mansabdars as the Barha Sayyids.[1]

In the siege of Chittor which was personally supervised by the Emperor, the Sayyids of Barha fought bravely, and Sayyid Jamaluddin son of Sayyid Ahmad Khan Barha was killed when a mine exploded.[2]

In the Gujarat campaign, Sayyid Mahmud Barha, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Sayyid Qasim and Sayyid Hashim were despatched to accompany the advance guard of Khan Kalan. After reaching Pattan its charge was given to Mirza Khan under the tutelage of Sayyid Ahmad Khan.[3] After the conquest of Ahmadabad, Akbar decided to expel the Mirzas from Gujarat. An army was sent under Man Singh, Sayyid Mahmud Barha and others for the conquest of Surat, which was under the occupation of the Mirzas. But in the meantime information was received that Ibrahim Husain Mirza having come out from Broach was very close to royal camp. Consequently the army was called back. Akbar hurried forward and was joined by Sayyid Mahmud and others raising the strength of the army to only two hundred men. A fierce battle was fought at Sarnal in which Ibrahim was defeated and put to flight.[4]

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1. For the account of the family of Shaikh Salim Chishti, see chapter on 'The Family of Shaikh Salim Chishti'. For the total number of Barha nobles in Akbar's reign, see Appendix. A
2. Akbarnama, II, 317; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 379.
3. Akbarnama, II, 372, III, 6; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 139-40, writes that he was given jagir of Pattan. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 378-79, 409-10.
4. Akbarnama, III, 11-16; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 141.

After the victory of Sarnal the Emperor along with Sayyid Mahmudand other Barha Sayyid marched to conquer the Surat.[1] While the operations were in progress, the Mirzas tried to create commotion near Pattan. Ibrahim Husain attempted to surprise Agra. Akbar despatched Sayyid Mahmud Barha, Shah Quli Mahram and Bhagwat Das to intercept the rebels.[2]

While Emperor was in Surat, Muhammad Husain Mirza, Shah Mirza and the Fauladi Afghans attacked Pattan and besieged Sayyid Ahmad Barha. Mirza Aziz Koka rushed to his help and the Mirzas raised the siege. After the defeat of the Mirzas, Khan-i Alam along with Sayyid Qasim Barha was deputed to pursue Muhammad Husain Mirza who had fled to the Deccan.[3]

After the completion of the conquest of Gujarat, Sayyid Mahmud returned to court along with Akbar, but Sayyid Ahmad, Sayyid Qasim and Sayyid Hashim were left in Gujarat.

Soon after Akbar's departure, Gujarat was again invaded by the rebels and Mirza Aziz Koka was besieged. On hearing of this, Akbar personally marched towards Ahmadabad. A strong advance guard was formed

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1. Akbarnama, III, 19.

2. Ibid., 23.

3. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 147-49; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 378-79.

under Man Singh, Bhagwant Das, Sayyid Mahmud and other Barha Sayyids.[1] In the battle fought with Muhammad Husain Mirza, the Barha Sayyids were in the centre under the command of Mirza Khan. The centre was responsible for the great victory;and in the battle Sayyid Mahmud Barha and Rai Singh distinguished themselves.[2]

In the same year after the reconquest of Gujarat, Sayyid Mahmud along with Amroha Sayyids was despatched against the rebel Madhukar: Sayyid Mahmud behaved courageously and brought the country to order. Shortly afterwards Sayyid Mahmud died.[3]

In 1575 a contingent of the Barha Sayyids was despatched under Sadiq Khan to Basantpur which belonged to sarkar Kumaon to crush the rebels. The rebeles had previously defeated an imperial army under Husain Khan.[4]

In the same year Sayyid Ahmad and Sayyid Hashim along with a contingent of Barha Sayyids were sent against Chandrasen who had strengthened the fort of Siwana. The Barhas made bold attempt and inflicted losses on the rebels. However, the fort Siwana was only captured in 1576 under the command of Shahbaz Khan Kamboh.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, II, 41-43; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 164-70.
2. Akbarnama, III, 47-49.
3. Ibid., 77.
4. Ibid., 143-44.
5. Ibid., 159, 167-68. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 378-79, the author believes that Sayyid Ahmad died in 1572-73, which is not correct because he was with Man Singh in the campaign against Rana Pratap in 1576. See Akbarnama, III, 166-67.

In 1576 Kr. Man Singh was sent against Rana Pratap of Mewar. He was accompanied by Sayyid Ahmad, Sayyid Qasim, Sayyid Hashim, Sayyid Raju and a number of other Barha Sayyids. Some of the Barha Sayyids under the command of Sayyid Hashim numbering about eighty were in the vanguard, and Sayyid Ahmad commanded the right wing. There was severe fighting and the Sayyids repeatedly threw the valour of Rajputs into the shade. Badauni remarks, "that if Sayyids would have held ground—— the affair would have turned disgraceful".[1]

After the victory Akbar took steps to isolate the Rana. Sayyid Hashim and Rai Rai Singh were deputed to bring to submission Sultan Deora of Sirohi and Taj Khan of Jalor. Realising the futility of resistance they agreed to submit. Hashim and Rai Singh were posted at Nandot (now Rajpipla) a border town in Gujarat to keep watch on the chiefs of those territories and to block the road to the Rana's territory.[2]

Later on in 1577 another army under the command of Shahbaz Khan was sent against Rana Pratap. Man Singh, Raja Bhagwat Das, Sayyid Raju, Sayyid Qasim and Sayyid Hashim were ordered to accompany him.[3]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 166-67, 174-76; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 228, 230-34; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 403-04.

2. Akbarnama, III, 189-90; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 409-10.

3. Akbarnama, III, 218-19; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 409-10.

In 1580 Sayyid Hashim and Sayyid Qasim were ordered to march against Chandrasen son of Maldeo who again rebelled. After a fight they expelled him from the imperial territory.[1]

It appears that until 1584 Sayyid Hashim and Sayyid Qasim remained at Ajmer serving in imperial armies. They were also granted jagirs in the suba.[2] However, in 1584, they were appointed with Mirza Khan to Gujarat who was called upon to chastise Muzaffar Gujarati.[3] The vanguard of the army was commanded by the Barha Sayyids. In the battle fought at Sarkhij, Sayyid Hashim was killed and Sayyid Qasim was severely wounded. Mirza Khan achieved a great victory but Muzaffar escaped.[4]

After some time Muzaffar again revolted. Mirza Khan himself proceeded towards Cambay leaving Sayyid Qasim and other Barhas to defend Pattan; he also left Sayyid Lad and Sayyid Bahadur along with some other Barhas in the village of Hadala.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 318-19; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 409-10.

2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 409-10.

3. Akbarnama, III, 409-10, 413-14; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 409-10. Two of the other Barha Sayyid referred to in the campaign were Sayyid Bahadur and Sayyid Lad, Akbarnama, III, 423-24.

4. Akbarnama, III, 425; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 409-10; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, II, 331-32.

5. Akbarnama, III, 452-54; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 409-10.

While the Gujarat rebels were hard pressed by Mirza Khan, Raja Jagannath was despatched against Rana Pratap in the same year along with Sayyid Raju. The Sayyid was left at Mandalgarh, while Jagannath proceeded towards Rana's headquarters. The Rana escaped and raided the imperial territories. Sayyid Raju marched forward to pursue him but the Rana fled towards Chittor. Jagannath and Raju sometime later made a surprise attack on the Rana's residence, and narrowly missed capturing him.[1]

In 1585 when Mirza Khan Khan Khanan came to the court, he left Qulij Khan to defend Ahmadabad and Sayyid Qasim was appointed commander of the forces of the province. During the absence of Khan Khanan, Muzaffar once again invaded the territories of Junagarh with the help of the Jam. He gained some initial success, but Sayyid Qasim and Nizamuddin took immediate action, plundered the town of Rajkot and beat back Muzaffar.[2]

In the meantime while Mirza Khan was coming back from the presence he forced the Raja of Sirohi and Ghaznin Khan of Jalor to surrender. In both these engagements he was aided by Sayyid Qasim and Nizamuddin.[3]

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1. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 440, 468; <u>Ma'asir-ul Umara</u>, II, 402-3.
2. <u>Akbarnama</u>, III, 471-72; <u>Ma'asir-ul Umara</u>, 409-10.
3. <u>Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh</u>, II, 345; <u>Ma'asir-ul Umara</u>, II, 409-10.

During the year 1587 and 1588 the Sayyids of Barha under Sayyid Qasim and Nizamuddin fought many battles with Muzaffar, the Jam, the ruler of lesser Kutch (Jamnagar), and achieved much success.[1]

In 1590 Gujarat was assigned to Mirza Aziz Koka. The Sayyids remained during his tenure of office, also in Gujarat and fought in every battle against Muzaffar, their place being as usual in the vanguard. Except Sayyid Qasim, Sayyid Bayazid, Sayyid Salim, Sayyid Bahadur and Sayyid Mustafa are also referred to during this period.[2]

In the year 1591-92 when Khan Khanan was despatched for the conquest of Thatta, the Sayyids of Barha also accompanied him, for Sayyid Bahadur Barha is said to have served in the flanks. After the conquest of Thatta, when Khan Khanan proceeded to the court, he left Sayyid Bahadur along with Hasan Ali to guard the country.[3]

When in 1591 Murad was appointed governor of Malwa, Sayyid Raju was placed under him.[4] The Prince, later on proceeded against Madhukar who was in open rebellion. But in the meantime Emperor ordered him to return from the territory of Madhukar. Raju was left to tackle him.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 524, 30-31; Ma'asir-ul Umara, 409-10.
2. Akbarnama, III, 593-95, 597; Tabaqat, II, 411, 413-14.
3. Akbarnama, III, 608-09, 633-34.
4. Ibid., 598-600; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 402-3.
5. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 402-3.

After some time Murad was deputed to the Deccan. Sayyid Raju, Sayyid Qasim and other Barha Sayyids accompanied the Prince, under Khan Khanan.[1] Owing to misunderstanding among Mughal commanders, dissension arose in the camp, and this weakened the Mughal army when it besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar.[2] The enemy attacked the Mughal forces but retreated without achieving much success. In the battle Sayyid Raju and Sayyid Alam were killed. The Emperor assigned the jagir of Sayyid Raju[3] to his sons. In the meantime Suhail Khan who had come with a big army to help Chand Bibi challenged the Mughals. In the subsequent battle fought at Ashti, the Mughals were defeated in the first instance. But finally, Khan Khanan defeated Chand Bibi's forces with the help of Daulat Khan Lodi, Sayyid Qasim and the Barha Sayyids.[4]

After the death of Murad, command of the Deccan forces was given to Daniyal in 1599. In the same year Sayyid Qasim was killed while fighting the Deccanis.[5]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 698-99; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 403-4, 409-10, writes that Raju was seconded to the Deccan command.

2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 400-03; Akbarnama, III, 698-701.

3. Akbarnama, III, 699-700; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 402-03.

4. Z.K., I, 43-45; Ma'asir-ul Umara,
   An interesting account of Khan Khanan's battle with Suhail Khan is given in these works. The details of the war show, the great valour shown by the Barha Sayyids and Daulat Khan Lodi.

5. Akbarnama, III, 757.

In 1600 Shaikh Farid Bhakkari along with a big army which included a contingent of Barha Sayyids was sent to besiege Asirgarh.[1]

After 1600, we do not get references to Barha nobles in our sources until the last days of Akbar when the Emperor was on his death bed. It appears that during this period Shaikh Farid Bhakkari was their principal mentor. We have already seen that under his command they had previously offered military service. The Barhas certainly had very intimate relations with the Shaikh.[2]

During the last days of Akbar a conspiracy was planned by Aziz Koka and Man Singh to arrest Salim and enthrone his son Khusrau. But Shaikh Farid collected his Barha soldiers and went to offer allegiance to Prince Salim.[3]

The great support rendered by the Barhas was generously rewarded by Jahangir after his accession. Syed Ali Asghar who was in personal service of the Prince was promoted to the rank of 3000 and given the title of Saif Khan.[4]

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1. Akbarnama, III, 767.
2. Ibid., 797-98.
3. Halat-i Asad Beg, 52, 53. In the History of Jahangir, Beni Prasad has wrongly called Saeed Khan as a Barha Sayyid.
4. Tuzuk, 13-14; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 410-11; but there is no reference of mansab being given to him at this stage.

In the Ist R.Y. (1605) Prince Khusrau rebelled. An army under the command of Shaikh Farid along with a contingent of Barha Sayyids under Saif Khan and Sayyid Jalal was sent against him. The battle was unusually severe and the Barha and Bukhari Sayyids had to bear the brunt of the fight. The Barhas, as usual, were in the vanguard and at one stage about 50 or 60 of them had to face some 1500 Badakhshis. Fortunately Sayyid Kamal Bukhari came to their rescue, otherwise they would have been cut down to a man. Even then Sayyid Jalal was killed and Saif Khan severely wounded. Saif Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000.[1]

Later on during the 4th R.Y. (1609) Saif Khan was assigned faujdari of Hisar and received a further promotion to the rank of 2500/1350.[2]

In the 5th R.Y. (1610) certain Barha nobles such as Adam Barha and Sayyid Ali, both from Gujarat were favoured. Next year Sayyid Adam was killed while fighting against the Afghan chief, Usman, in Bengal.[3]

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1. Tuzuk, 30; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 410-11. The mansab is corroborated.
2. Tuzuk, 75; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 410-11.
3. Tuzuk, 86-87, Sayyid Ali was promoted to the rank 1500/700, 166, 209-10.

In 1613, Khurram was sent against Rana of Mewar. It would appear that Saif Khan was also deputed with him, because at his request the mansab of Saif Khan was increased to 3000/1500. Along with him Hizabr Khan Barha was also deputed.[1]

In 1615, Saif Khan Barha, Sayyid Ali Barha and Abdullah Barha were raised to the ranks of 3000/1000/,1500/1000 and 700/450 respectively. In the following year (1616) Sayyid Qasim, son of Sayyid Dilawar, was also promoted to the rank 800/450.[2]

In 1616 news of the death of Saif Khan was conveyed to the Emperor. He had died in the Deccan, which suggests that he was transferred to the Deccan from Ajmer along with Prince Khurram when the latter was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. His two minor sons, Ali Muhammad and Bahadur were given ranks of 600/400 and 400/200, and his nephew Sayyid Ali Barha was also promoted to the rank of 2000/1500. In the same manner Sayyid Qasim Barha was also promoted to the rank of 1000/600.[3]

In 1617 Sayyid Abdullah came from Deccan with the news of the peace reached with the Deccanis. He was given jagir worth Rs.2,000,000

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1. Tuzuk, 127; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 410-11, 415-16, mentions the appointment against Rana.

2. Tuzuk, 148, 146, 138, 159.

3. Ibid., 159, 163. Si-sad for zat rank of Ali Muhammad should really read shash-sad; and this has been assumed in our text. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 410-11 does not mention about mansab being given to his son.

in return for communicating this joyful news to the Emperor. He was also given the title of Saif Khan.[1]

While the Emperor was in Gujarat in the 1618, he promoted certain Barha nobles who were serving in that province. Sayyid Hizabr Khan was promoted to the rank of 1000/400; Sayyid Bayazid and other were also rewarded in the like manner.[2]

In the same year Safi Barha, who had been serving in the Kangra campaign, was killed along with his brethren while fighting Surajmal.[3]

Izzat Khan, who was serving in Bangash at the request of Mahabat Khan, had his mansab increased to 1500/800. In the same year his brother Abdul Wahab Barha was given the title of Diler Khan and his mansab was increased to 1000/500, in reward for his service in Gujarat. He was appointed faujdar of Baroda.[4]

During the Emperor's visit to Kashmir in 1620, news of the death of Izzat Khan was received from Bangash. He had been deputed by

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1. Tuzuk, 188-89.
2. Ibid., 228, 230.
3. Ibid., 254-5.
4. Ibid., II, 40, 73; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 493-94.

Mahabat Khan to go to the hill country and ravage the crops of Afghans. The Afghan entrapped him and assaulting from all sides killed him and his brothers. Jahangir had a great regard for him and his family. Therefore, mansab and jagir was given to his minor son, 'so that those left behind should not be scattered about, and others might have increased hope'. At the same time Diler Khan, a brother of Izzat Khan, was also promoted to the rank of 1000/800.[1]

In the same year Hizabr Khan was deputed with Khan-i Jahan Lodi who was appointed to Multan. He was promoted to the rank of 1500/600 and ordered to proceed along with his sons Sayyid Ali and Abdul Hadi.[2]

In 1622, Shahjahan was ordered to march to Qandhar with all his troops. But the Prince who had developed ulterior motives proposed to remain in Mandu till the rainy season. The message of Shahjahan was not appreciated by the Emperor because of the growing pressure of Persians. Therefore, he ordered the prince to despatch immediately all great amirs, the Barha and Bukhari Sayyids to court.[3] It is not known whether he complied with the orders, but certain Barha nobles were with him when he openly rebelled. Syed Khani Jahan and Sayyid Shuja'at Khan,

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1. Tuzuk, II, 307-8.
2. Ibid., 191, 196.
3. Ibid., 345.

who were in the personal service of the prince, are referred to in all our sources.[1] But at the same time many of the Barha nobles remained loyal to the Emperor. When the imperial armies were deputed to fight the rebels, in the battle of Bilochpur, the Barha Sayyids were placed under the command of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang. Although Abdullah Khan deserted in the midst of the battle, the Barhas remained firm and loyal and many of them were killed in the battle. After the battle, Sayyid Bahwa was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500.[2]

When an army was appointed to pursue the rebels under Parvez, and Mahabat Khan along with others, Hizabr Khan was also deputed with them.[3]

After that we have very little information regarding activities of Barhas. However, in the rebel camp, Shuja'at Khan and Khan-i Jahan accompanied the Prince all along in his marches. When the Prince proceeded towards Bengal, Sayyid Khan-i Jahan fought a battle with Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jang and defeated him; the Sayyid remained loyal to Khurram throughout.[4] But Shuja'at Khan left the prince after Shahjahan's

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1. Z.K., 118b, 119b. A brief biography of Sayyid Khan-i Jahan and Sayyid Jafar Shuja'at Khan has been given by the author. Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 758-59; II, 423-24.

2. Tuzuk, 357-58; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 493-94.

3. Tuzuk, 360-61; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 415-16.

4. Z.K., 118b; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 758; II, 423-24.

defeat at the battle of Tons, when he came to know that the prince wished to proceed to Iran. He came to his home town.[1]

Shahjahan after being defeated fled towards the Deccan. As Bhim was killed at Bilochpur, he made over the suba of Gujarat to Abdullah Khan who in the turn appointed Wafadar to take its charge. The officers of Gujarat under Mirza Safi and Diler Khan Barha expelled Wafadar. When Abdullah Khan came to know of it he rushed to defend Ahmadabad, but he was also defeated by Safi (later Saif Khan)[2] and Diler Khan Barha. For his meritorious service Diler Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1200.[3] It was at this time that Jahangir remarked about their bravery and quoted Aziz Koka as saying that 'the Sayyids of Barha were the averters of clamity for the Mughal dominion', and added that such was in reality the case.[4]

In 1623, while the imperial armies were in Ahmadabad under Parvez and Mahabat Khan, a strange event took place, in which the Barha Sayyids and the Rajputs came to blows. One of the brothers of Sayyid Kabir Barhahad some grievance against a cutler whose shop was near

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1. Z.K., 118b; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 758; II, 423-24.

2. He was an Irani officer.

3. Tuzuk, 362-64, 366.

4. Ibid., 269.

Raja Girdhar's lodging. This minor event took a violent turn in which Rajputs and Sayyids used bows and swords. Sayyids Kabir also came to their help. Raja Girdhar and his Rajputs closed doors to protect themselves. The Sayyids set fire to the door, entered into the house and killed Girdhar and his twenty six servants. Some Sayyids were also killed. When the Rajputs came to know of it, they armed themselves and so did the Barhas. The Rajputs assembled in a plain outside the citadel. Mahabat Khan having been informed of it, rushed to the place and soothed the Rajputs. He took some of the chief men of the Rajput and went to the house of Khan-i Alam. Parvez also reached Khan-i Alam's house. Mahabat Kham promised to conduct an inquiry into the matter. The crisis was averted at the moment, but the Rajputs could not be pacified. Sayyid Kabir was arrested and later on executed because Rajputs could ~~not~~ agree to nothing but capital punishment to Sayyid Kabir.[1]

This event may have created ill feeling among Sayyids towards the imperialists, but there is no evidence to prove it.

A survey of the events suggests that Barhas had a soft corner for Shahjahan. When Jahangir died, Diler Khan who was in Gujarat was the first to come forward and render homage to Shahjahan.[2] Hizabr Khan was

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1. _Tuzuk_, 274-75.
2. _Ma'asir-ul Umara_, I, 493-94.

with Asaf Khan at the time of Jahangir's death, and fought against Shahryar.[1] It appears that Shahjahan also had great regard for them. After his accession no less than seven persons of Barha families were promoted. Sayyid Shuja'at Khan who had deserted him was recalled from his home town and granted mansab of 4000/4000, 2000 du aspa siaspa.[2]

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1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 415-16.

2. We have references of under mentioned mansabdars of Barha family in Badshahnama, for first ten year of Shahjahan's reign.

Sayyid Khan-i Jahan	5000/5000 du aspa si aspa
Shuja'at Khan	4000/4000, 2000 du aspa si aspa
Sayyid Diler Khan	4000/3000
Hizabr Khan	3000/1000
Sayyid Alam Barha	2000/ 800
Sayyid Lakhan Barha	900/ 500.

THE FAMILY OF SHAIKH SALIM CHISHTI

The family of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpur was also one of the important groups of nobles in the Mughal nobility. The rise of this family of Indian Muslims dates from the period of Akbar, but it attained really large mansabs only during the reign of Jahangir.

It seems necessary to identify the members of the family before going into other details. No attempt has been made so far to reconstruct a chart of Shaikh Salim Chishti's family. In the contemporary sources, notably the Akbarnama, Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri and a large collection of biographical notes of nobles and officials, the Zakhirat-ul Khawanin of Shaikh Farid Bukhari (1650 A.D.), a large number of persons related to Shaikh Salim Chishti are mentioned.[1] On the basis of this evidence a genealogical chart has been prepared. In the chart all the members of Shaikh Salim's family living during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir and noticed in our sources are included.[2]

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1. After preparing this chart, I came across an excellent Urdu history of the family, Nawab Farid by Sultan Haider Josh, printed at Nizami Press, Badaun in 1917, which heavily draws on family traditions said to be preserved in MS. The genealogy reconstructed by me from contemporary sources is confirmed by this work. My chart is, however, much fuller.

2. See Appendix, 'B'.

Shaikh Salim Chishti was the son of Shaikh Bahauddin and a descendant of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i Shakar. The family originally belonged to Delhi where Shaikh Salim was born in 1479 A.D. He visited various Muslim countries twice and was known as 'Shaikh-ul Hind'. After returning to India he settled at Sikri about 30 kms from Agra. Another branch of the family settled in Badaun. But the two branches continued to have close links and even the contemporary historians considered the two families as one. Qutubuddin Khan Koka, a foster brother of Jahangir, and later a high-ranking noble, belonged to the Badaun branch.[1]

Shaikh Salim Chishti enjoyed a great reputation in his time. While he was in Fathpur he attracted Akbar's attention. As is well known Akbar sent his wives to Sikri to give birth to sons under the protection of the Shaikh. The first son so born was Salim, the later Jahangir.[2] The Shaikh died in 1570. But as Akbar had great regard for the Shaikh's family, the Shaikh's sons, grandsons and the sons-in-law were given offices by him. As the Shaikh's own daughter served as a foster mother to Prince Salim, her son Qutubuddin Khan Koka was recognised as Salim's foster brother.

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1. Akbarnama, II, 343-44; Muntakhab, II, 12; Akhbar-ul Akhyar, 276-77. For more details of the early history of the family, see Nawab Farid, 10-12.

2. Akbarnama, II, 343-45.

Shaikh Ahmad, a son of Shaikh Salim, is the first person known to have been appointed in Mughal service during the reign of Akbar. He held the mansab of 500 and served at the capital with his cousin Shaikh Ibrahim, son of Shaikh Musa, a brother of Shaikh Salim. Shaikh Ahmad died in 1577.[1] Shaikh Ibrahim continued to serve and in 1577 held the charge of Fathpur. After that he was despatched to Bengal and Bihar to serve under Mirza Aziz Koka. In 1586 he held the charge of Agra and died in 1590.[2] The family now seems to have begun to entertain clear political ambitions.

In the closing years of Akbar's reign, Shaikh Bayazid (later Muazzam Khan) a grandson of Shaikh Salim, was granted a mansab of 2,000.[3] Prince Salim patronised Shaikh Khubu (later Qutubuddin Khan), his foster brother, and Shaikh Kabir (later Shuja'at Khan). Both of them were his close associates at Allahabad.[4] This shows when Akbar died the family had already established some position in the nobility.

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1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 554-55.

2. Tabaqat-i Akbari, II, 439; Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, 570-72. In Z.K., I, 219 Shaikh Ibrahim is identified as a son-in-law and sister's son of Shaikh Salim.

3. Tuzuk, 13.

4. Tuzuk, 12-13. The author of Nawab Farid, 54-55, adds that Qutubuddin Khan built a mosque in Badaun in 1601 A.D. The inscription on the mosque had the name of Salim Shah along with Emperor Akbar.

The later developments in the picture of this family may be viewed in the context of the political crisis that ensued following the the illness and death of Akbar. One section of the old nobility led by Mirza Aziz Koka and Raja Man Singh planned to enthrone Khusrau, the eldest son of Prince Salim.[1] Although the plan failed, it created a great dislike in Jahangir for the old nobles. The result of this mistrust towards this section of nobles forced him to encourage a new group of nobles supposed to be completely faithful to him. As a result those persons, many of whom were personal servants of Prince Salim, were given rapid promotions so as to challenge the older nobility. To this new group of nobles the family of Shaikh Salim Chishti also belonged.[2] At the death of Akbar the family held <u>mansabs</u> totalling 3200 <u>zat</u>.[3] But after the accession of Jahangir, there came a marked increase in their <u>mansabs</u>. Soon after his accession, Shaikh Bayazid was given the title of Muazzam Khan and was promoted to the rank of 3000. He was also made governor of Delhi in 1606.[4] Shaikh Alauddin 'Islam Khan' and Shaikh Kabir 'Shuja'at Khan' were also promoted

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1. For details of the conspiracy, see 'Conclusion'.

2. See chapters on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi', 'The Family of Mahabat Khan' and 'The Family of Barha Sayyid'.

3. The following nobles of the family held <u>mansabs</u> at the death of Akbar.

(i)	Shaikh Bayazid	2000 <u>zat</u>	(iii)	Shaikh Khubu	500 <u>zat</u>
(ii)	Shaikh Kabir	500 <u>zat</u>	(iv)	Shaikh Alauddin	200 <u>zat</u>.

4. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 32, 37; <u>Z.K.</u> (MS), 94ab; <u>Ma'asir-ul Umara</u>, III, 365-66.

to the ranks of 2000 and 1000 respectively.[1] Qutubuddin Khan the foster brother of Jahangir was given the very high rank of 5000/5000 and appointed governor of Bengal and Orissa.[2] His son Shaikh Ibrahim was also given the rank of 1000/300.[3]

As a result of these promotions, the proportion of the rise in the mansab was remarkable. In 1606 the total mansab held in the family came to 12500 zat and 6000 sawar.[4]

Qutubuddin Khan remained governor of Bengal for a very brief period. In the second regnal year he was ordered to send Sher Afghan to the court as 'it was not right to leave such a mischievous person there'. Qutubuddin Khan immediately proceeded to Burdwan, which was Sher Afghan's jagir and summoned him to an interview. As he entered the camp, Qutubuddin Khan ordered him surrounded. Sher Afghan grew suspicious and is said to have remarked, 'What proceeding is this of thine'? When Qutubuddin advanced to explain the matter, Sher Afghan who was already suspicious

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1. Tuzuk, 12-13 ; Iqbalnama, 24, 38; Z.K. (MS), 79a-80a.
2. Tuzuk, 55, 81; Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 483-84.
3. Tuzuk, 36; Z.K. (MS), 76a.
4. The following nobles were promoted:

(i)	Muazzam Khan	3000	(Tuzuk, 32)
(ii)	Qutubuddin Khan	5000/5000	(Ibid., 37,68)
(iii)	Islam Khan	2000	(Ibid., 13)
(iv)	Shuja'at Khan	1500/ 700	(Ibid., 54)
(v)	Kishwar Khan	1000/ 300	(Ibid., 36).

drew his sword and struck down the governor. At this a struggle started in which Amba Khan Kashmiri, a relation of Qutubuddin Khan, and Sher Afghan were cut to pieces and Qutubuddin Khan succumbed to his injuries shortly afterwards.[1]

European travellers, apparently conveying a view that gained popular currency later, held Jahangir responsible for the murder of Sher Afghan; the Persian sources gloss over the matter. Beni Prasad relying upon them rejects the travellers' suspicions and rules out any conspiracy against Sher Afghan.[2] But the manner in which Qutubuddin Khan started the proceeding against Sher Afghan without any provocation, as related by the author of Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri and Jahangir himself in his memoirs,[3] creates some suspicion and leads one to think that there was some foul play in the incident.

Qutubuddin Khan's death greatly affected Jahangir. Jahangir in his memoirs writes 'What can I say of this unpleasantness. How grieved and troubled I became ! Qutubuddin Khan was to me in place of a dear son, a kind brother and congenial friend. What can one do with the decree of

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1. Tuzuk, 54-55; Iqbalnama, 24-25.

2. History of Jahangir, 166-68. Later Persian historians also held Jahangir responsible for the murder of Sher Afghan. Cf. Khafi Khan, I, 265-67; Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, (Delhi edition), 446-47.

3. op. cit.

God. Bowing to destiny I adopt an attitude of resignation. After the departure of the late King (Akbar) and the death of that honoured one, no two misfortunes had happened to me like the death of the mother of Qutubuddin and his own martyrdom.[1]

Qutubuddin Khan's family was summoned to the court after his death and his two minor sons Shaikh Fathuddin and Shaikh Farid were kept under the care of the ladies of the <u>harem</u>. Kishwar Khan (Shaikh Ibrahim) another son of his was made incharge of the fort of Rohtas.[2]

In 1607, Islam Khan grandson of Shaikh Salim was appointed governor of Bihar in place of Jahangir Quli Khan who was transferred to Bengal after the death of Qutubuddin Khan. He was also promoted to the rank of 4000/3000. Upon the death of Jahangir Quli in 1608, Islam Khan was made governor of Bengal and <u>ataliq</u> of Prince Jahandar.[3] Jahangir writes that when he was appointed to this duty 'most of the servants of the state made remarks on his youth and want of experience'. But Jahangir ignored the opposition of the nobles.[4] He was also promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 in the following year.[5]

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1. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 55.

2. <u>Ibid</u>., 60; <u>Nawab Farid</u>, 68-69, gives the information about the arrival of Qutubuddin's family to the court.

3. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 68; <u>Iqbalnama</u>, 38; <u>Z.K</u>. (MS), 79a-80a.

4. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 68-69, <u>Iqbalnama</u>, 64.

5. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 76.

The author of the modern work Nawab Farid, Sultan Haider, gives a different version of the circumstances that led to his appointment as governor of Bengal. According to Sultan Haider, the family of Shaikh Salim had become quite powerful after the accession of Jahangir. They had a large clan group and Jahangir had great love and respect for them. Besides, Islam Khan had raised a contingent of 20,000 Shaikhzada retainers under him. Hence the growing power of the family group became a great hurdle in the way of the growth of Nur Jahan's family. Nur Jahan, therefore, conspired to get him appointed as governor of Bengal. Although it was an important appointment, the main purpose behind this move was to send him away from the court. Moreover, as the Afghans were still offering great resistance to the imperial forces, the strength of the family was expected to suffer in the struggle against them. Sultan Haider adds that Nur Jahan actually succeeded in her mission; although Islam Khan defeated Usman Khan Afghan, in the course of his wars against him (Usman) a large number of his relations and Shaikhzada retainers were killed. Consequently the influence and power of the family declined. He further says that the members of the family came to know of the Nur Jahan's conspiracy when Shaikh Fathuddin son of Qutubuddin Khan suddenly died in the harem. They complained that Shaikh Fathuddin was poisoned at the instance of Nur Jahan and requested that Shaikh Farid the other son who was still in the harem might be permitted to go to Badaun. Jahangir refused to

permit him to go to Badaun but he was taken out from the _harem_ and given into the care of Itimad Khan, brother of Nur Jahan.[1]

This information is not corroborated by any other contemporary or near contemporary sources except for the fact that Islam Khan has indeed been credited with possessing 20,000 retainers under him.[2] But at the same time the _Tuzuk_ and _Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri_ give very little information about his activities in Bengal.[3] The author of the _Baharistan-i Ghaibi_, Mirza Nathan who served under Islam Khan gives ample information to prove that during his tenure of office in Bengal he behaved very autocratically and his relations with the court were not very friendly. Mirza Nathan speaks of Islam Khan's arrogant conduct with the officers posted in Bengal. He specifically mentions his hostility towards Ihtimam Khan and Bahadur Qalmaq. At one stage the situation became unbearable and Mirza Nathan said 'Let me have the men of the army and fleet with me and I shall go and teach a lesson to Islam Khan so that he will never dare behave unpleasantly again.'[4] On another occasion Ihtimam Khan remarked 'I am also not inferior to you. Every one of us is the slave of the master'.[5]

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1. _Nawab Farid_, 67-69.
2. _Z.K._, II 191-93.
3. Cf. _Tuzuk_, 101-105; _Iqbalnama_, 60-63.
4. _Baharistan-i Ghaibi_, I, 72.
5. _Ibid._, 115-17.

In spite of that, Islam Khan had become so powerful that he used to enjoy full control over the governor of Orissa also. When Shuja'at Khan was sent to help him, he appointed him governor of Orissa in place of Raja Kalyan without the prior permission of the imperial Court.[1] He also gave orders that no one should be allowed to enter Bengal from 'Hindustan' or _vice versa_ without his permission. He rigorously enforced this order and an imperial officers Shaikh Husain who was on way to meet the governor was detained by Shaikh Ahmad at Akbarnagar. Shaikh Husain was permitted to continue his journey only after approval from Islam.[2] Similarly, Raja Kalyan the governor of Orissa who was proceeding to the court was detained at Akbarnagar. Not only that when these incidents were reported to the Emperor, and Shaikh Ahmad's _mansab_ and _jagir_ were confiscated and he was summoned to the court, Islam Khan did not send him back.[3]

Islam Khan also assumed certain royal prerogatives. Mirza Nathan says, 'He prepared a high platform higher than the height of two men and constructed a small house on it. It was named _jharokha_. The great officers who could not attend to pay respect at _chauki_, were ordered to depute one of their sons or near relations in their place and they were

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1. _Baharistan-i Ghaibi_, I, 160, 219.
2. _Ibid._, 132-33.
3. _Ibid._, 144-45.

ordered to pass their nights at the royal guard house. The other officers were directed to make obeisance standing at the queue standard'.[1] Shaikh Husain the imperial officer who came to him from the court, was also not spared and was forced to make <u>kornish</u>.[2]

Regarding Islam Khan's war with Usman Afghan, Mirza Nathan states that for a long time no progress could be made in this affair, and nobles at the court questioned Islam Khan's competence. When Jahangir too became worried and wrote to Islam Khan in this connection, he requested that if Shuja'at Khan along with his brothers and relations were sent to his help, Usman could easily be defeated. Jahangir agreed and Shuja'at Khan who was serving in the Deccan was summoned and sent to Bengal, along with his brothers.[3] Kishwar Khan from Rohtas and Qasim Khan, brother of Islam Khan, from Mungher were also ordered to proceed to his help. Mukarram Khan along with his brothers and Shaikh Achhay a relation of Islam Khan also accompanied Shuja'at Khan.[4] Islam Khan appointed Shuja'at Khan as governor of Orissa after dismissing Raja Kalyan in order to encourage Shuja'at Khan. Shuja'at Khan in turn despatched Shaikh Qutub his son as his deputy and himself proceeded on the campaign against Usman.[5]

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1. <u>Baharistan-i Ghaibi</u>, I, 120.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., 132-33.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., 157-59.
4. <u>Ibid</u>., 158-59.
5. <u>Ibid</u>., 160, 219.

After the victory over Usman, Shuja'at Khan was given the title of Rustam-i Zaman and promoted to the rank of 6000/6000 2h-3h. He was also appointed governor of Bengal in place of Islam Khan. Islam Khan was given the option of remaining in Bengal under Shuja'at Khan or coming back to the court.[1] About the same time Shaikh Husain arrived at the court and informed the Emperor about Islam Khan's highhandedness, and the manner in which he was enjoying certain royal prerogatives. On this, an ordinance containing seventeen points of admonition was issued to the subadars and particularly to Islam Khan, to be observed without the slightest deviation from them.[2] Islam Khan's mansab was also reduced to 3000/3000 (previously he held the rank of 5000/5000), on the charge that he had not accompanied Shuja'at Khan against Usman and had sent Kishwar Khan son of Qutubuddin, who died in this campaign. But despite these punishments, Islam Khan continued the practice of sitting in the jharokha.[3]

These details from Baharistan-i Ghaibi, about Islam Khan's activity in Bengal too are not fully corroborated by either Tuzuk-i Jahangiri or the Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri[4] but a close examination supports the view that Nathan's account contains much truth. Although the Tuzuk-i Jahangiri states

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1. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, I, 211.

2. Ibid., 213-14.

3. Ibid., 214-15.

4. Cf. Tuzuk, 101-04, and Iqbalnama, 60-63, where the campaign against Usman has been discussed.

that Islam Khan overthrew Usman Afghan, it also records the fact that Islam Khan had not led the campaign and the victory was achieved by Shuja'at Khan who was given title of Rustam-i Zaman and promoted to the rank of 3000/2500.[1] However, Islam Khan was praised for this victory and promoted to the rank of 6000/6000.[2]

The ordinance containing seventeen points of admonition is also reproduced in the Tuzuk. The only difference is this that it was a general order for the governors of bordering provinces whereas the Baharistan-i-Ghaibi refers to Islam Khan as its particular recipient.[3] The time of issue of the ordinance is the same in both the sources (end of the 6th r.y.).

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1. Tuzuk, 102-04.
2. Ibid.
3. Following seventeen regulations were issued by Jahangir.

   I. No imperial officer should deviate from the right principle in his food and drink and in giving the people their rightful due. As whatever remains after them ceases to belong to them. Why should they carry on their shoulders the burden of denying the people their lawful rights and thus make their burden (of sin) heavier on the Day of Judgment?

   II. They should not hold any review. They must live according to their own status. As it is said:-
   Even if the King shows his unlimited favour,
   The slave must know his own limit.
   Then why should one sit on the Jharokha and perform similar other acts?

   III. No subadar should sit on a place higher than half a human height above the ground.

   IV. No man, beginning from the nobles down to the lowest servant is to be compelled to salute and make obeisance (salam and taslim).

   V. The imperial officers must not be made to remain standing on foot.

   VI. No man should be flayed alive for any offence.

   VII. The eyes of a man are to be pulled out under no circumstances whatsoever.

contd...

But the appointment of Shuja'at Khan as governor of Bengal, his promotion to the rank of 6000/6000 2h-3h and curtailment of Islam Khan's

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(foot-note continued from previous page).....

VIII. The _subadar_ must not set up their standards (_qur_) and compell officers to bow doen to them.

IX. They must not beat kettle-drums at the time of setting out on a journey.

X. They must not play the kettle-drum before them after the manner of the Emperor when they go out riding.

XI. For the welfare of the Emperor, they must act equitably with their friends and foes. Personal grudge must not come in.

XII. The services rendered by devoted officers must not be suppressed. These must be faithfully reported to the Emperor.

XIII. They must not engage in any undertaking without permission.

XIV. When a horse is presented to any officer, he should not be made to make obeisance (to the _subadar_) by placing the rein on his neck.

XV. The great imperial officers must not be compelled to follow the officers of their own (i.e. of the _subadar_).

XVI. If it is desire to report on the merit of the officers, they should send the imperial officers by one direction and their own warriors by another (to serve in expeditions).

XVII. They must take pains to see that all the officers, appointed in their respective _subas_, work honestly and faithfully and discharge their duties strictly in accordance with imperial regulations.

(_Baharistan-i Ghaibi_, I, 213-14).

mansab and his dismissal from the governorship are not corroborated at all by the Tuzuk. However, the sudden accidental death of Shuja'at Khan is intriguing and one may think that there is some connection with this accidental death of Shuja'at Khan and Islam Khan's dismissal.[1] The Baharistan-i Ghaibi writes that Islam Khan was very much upset about his dismissal and wrote to Shuja'at Khan 'after coming to know about his appointment. He writes, 'May you be happy with dignities and the gifts of the Emperor. But as you with your forefathers were the disciples of our family, so it is expected that you should go under some plea towards Orissa and putting on the robe of honour of the governorship of Bengal at Rajmahal you should start by boat. I shall hasten to the imperial court by land and thus we will meet each other. You should uphold my prestige to this extent so that I may be saved leaving Jahangirnagar in your presence'.[2]

When Jahangir came to know of the death of Shuja'at Khan, Islam Khan was reinstated. But he too died in the following year.[3] Upon his death Jahangir ordered that till the appointment of a new governor the seniormost officer of Bengal should take over the administration of the suba;

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1. Tuzuk, 110-11, the incident leading to the death of Shuja'at Khan is recorded in the Tuzuk itself creates doubt.

2. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, I, 211. It is significant to note that Shuja'at Khan died on his way to Orissa. Cf. Tuzuk, 110-11.

3. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, I, 218-19; Tuzuk, 125-26; Iqbalnama, 72.

if an officer of that status was not present, the governor of Bihar should take charge for the time being. It is interesting to note that when Zafar Khan, the governor of Bihar, reached Bengal, Hushang, son of Islam Khan, did not allow him to take charge of the suba on the plea that he had not received the imperial order. Shortly afterwards Qasim Khan, brother of Islam Khan was made governor and promoted to the rank of 5000/4000.[1]

On the appointment of Qasim Khan, Hushang appears to have been unhappy. He left Bengal without the permission of the new governor. Qasim Khan sent his son Shaikh Farid to detain him, but he avoided a meeting and proceeded to the court. Qasim Khan toom into his custody a number of his servants and tortured them. He also seized Rs.20,000 belonging to Islam Khan. When the Emperor came to know of Hushang's departure from Bengal, he was ordered to stay there. But he paid no heed and continued his journey. When he reached the court 'the Emperor in consideration of the prestige of the family of Shaikh Salim did not take exception to this wrong action and granted him an interview'.[2] In 1615, he was raised to the rank of 1500/700 and made faujdar of Fathpur.[3]

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1. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, I, 258; Tuzuk, 136 states that he was given rank of 4000/4000.

2. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, I, 268-69.

3. Tuzuk, 145; Z.K. (MS), 94b.

Qasim Khan also behaved in the same manner as his brother. He completely sealed the frontiers of the suba; even the reports of the Vaqa-i Navis were not permitted to go without his approval and scrutiny. He was also accused of misbehaving with his subordinates.[1] On account of this he was once 'reprimanded but pardoned in consideration of the services of the Chishti family' and advised to behave with all the officers of the state according to their status in a friendly manner. But he could not improve his behaviour, and ultimately he was dismissed and summoned to the court.[2]

Qasim Khan started from Bengal along with all the elephants, pieces of artillery, and the fleet of boats that he had at his command. Certain chiefs of Bengal and imperial mansabdars also accompanied him. When Ibrahim Khan who was appointed governor of Bengal came to know of this, he wrote him to surrender the animals and equipment. But Qasim Khan declined to do so, hence a battle was fought in which Qasim Khan was badly defeated. He killed his wives fearing their humiliation and started for the court. After his arrival he was not given any assignment for several years.[3]

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1. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, I, 269-70.
2. Tuzuk, 185, has mentioned his dismissal without giving any specific reasons but it also refers obliquely to his bad conduct 'Jahangir writes 'As for a long time no good had been heard of the affairs of Bengal and of the conduct of Qasim Khan, it entered my mind to send to the suba of Bengal Ibrahim Khan Fath-i Jang.... I sent for Qasim Khan to court (R.B.I, 373) But Mirza Nathan has cited several acts of misbehaviour, particularly his hostility towards Mirza Husain Beg, the diwan of Bengal, and his brothers, Raja Parakshit Narayan, the Raja of Kuch, and Mukhlis Khan. Cf. Baharistan-i-Ghaibi, I, 286-87, 290-93, 310, 414.
3. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, I, 436-37. No other source gives these details.

In the same year when Qasim Khan was dismissed from Bengal, Mukarram Khan was appointed governor of Orissa and promoted to the rank of 3000/2000. But in 1619, he was also removed from the governorship and not given any appointment.[1]

Thus by 1619 the position of the family both in terms of mansabs and numerical strength had declined considerably. The table[2] below shows the fortunes of the family at different years during the reign of Jahangir.

Year	Zat	Sawar
1605	3200	-
1606	12500	6000
1612	15500	12000
1619	5000	3500
1622	8000	7000.

Two questions thus arise in relation to the changing fortunes of this family in the early years: Firstly, whether there is any truth in the complaint of Mirza Aziz Koka against the Emperor which he lodged to him in 1613 that Jahangir promoted Indian Muslims unduly. Besides other

1. Tuzuk, 220, 223; also see, 'The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's Reign - a Political Study', 90-94.

2. For reference, see Appendix, 'A'.

things, Mirza Aziz makes two charges against the Emperor.[1]

1. The Emperor's negative attitude towards the old nobility and undue favour towards new group.

2. Favouring the Khurasani (Irani) and Shaikhzadas (Indian Muslims) at the expense of Chaghtais and Rajputs.

Secondly, the circumstances of the decline of Shaikh Salim's family.

The ascent of the family of Shaikh Salim itself, no doubt, lends substance to Mirza Aziz's charge. Initially starting from 3500 zat this Shaikhzada family was raised to 15500/12000 in 1612. But it may be added that the promotions were given primarily on account of Jahangir's close association with the family of Shaikh Salim from the time of his birth, and not because of any deliberate policy of encouraging Indian Muslims. While promoting Islam Khan to the rank of 2000 he writes 'He had grown up with me from his child-hood and may be a year younger than I".[2] Similarly, about Shuja'at Khan he states, 'I had honoured him with the title of Shuja'at Khan when I was prince, on account of his manliness and bravery. I now selected him for the rank of 1000'.[3] Qutubuddin Khan and other members of the family were also promoted on the same grounds.

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1. Gowalior Nama (arzdasht of Aziz Koka), 18a-19b. For a more detailed discussion on this letter of complaint, see chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

2. Tuzuk, 13.

3. Ibid., 12.

The decline in the fortunes of the family is rather difficult to explain, although it is possible that it went into the shade partly as a result of the increasing prominence of Nur Jahan's family with which owing to the fatal incident between Qutubuddin and Sher Afghan its relations were unlikely to have been friendly. Besides, the author of _Nawab Farid_ writes that Asaf Khan married his second daughter Shehpara Begum to Shaikh Farid, son of Qutubuddin in 1618-19, and believes that on account of this relations became further strained between Nur Jahan and this family.[1] But there is no known contemporary authority for this particular marriage.

No doubt the rapid rise of Nur Jahan's family was an important factor in the decline of Shaikh Salim's family as of such other families because Nur Jahan's family came to enjoy about 7.7 per cent _zat_ and 10.0 per cent _sawar_ of the total _mansabs_ in 1621.[2] Apart from that certain high ranking nobles of Shaikh Salim's family died during this period, and after their death, their sons were not given such high ranks as were held by their fathers.[3] Naturally, in course of time the family became less and less prominent. But Jahangir always kept them in high regard because of

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1. _Nawab Farid_, 71-72.

2. For details, see 'The Family of Nur Jahan during the Jahangir's Reign - a Political Study', 95.

3. After the death of Qutubuddin who held the rank of 5000/5000, his son could not rise above the rank of 2000/2000. Similarly, Islam Khan's son's highest rank was 2000/1500, although Islam Khan held the rank of 6000/6000 at his death.

his respect for Shaikh Salim. Jahangir in 1619 at the time of promoting Ikram to the rank of 2000/1500 and posting him to the faujdari of Mewat states 'He is the son of Islam Khan who was grandson of the venerable asylum of pardon Shaikh Salim whose excellency of person and approved disposition and connection in blessing with this illustrious family have been described in these pages with the pen of sincerity'.[1]

Although by 1621, the family was much reduced in power, none of its members joined Shah Jahan during his rebellion. On the contrary in the crucial period Qasim Khan was appointed governor of Allahabad and Mukarram Khan of Delhi.[2] Thereafter Mukarram Khan and Ikram Khan were despatched to the Deccan to pursue Shah Jahan under Parvez.[3] At the end of Jahangir's reign, Ikram Khan was given charge of Asirgarh and Mukarram Khan was appointed governor of Bengal. But Mukarram Khan died before taking charge of the suba.[4]

During the accession crisis following the death of Jahangir, except for Shaikh Farid, who while serving under Asaf Khan who was also his father-in-law, came out openly to support the candidature of Shah Jahan,

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1. Tuzuk, 278.
2. Ibid., 220.
3. Ibid., 351-52.
4. Iqbalnama, 286.

the attitude of others is not known to us. Shaikh Farid was promoted to the rank of 1500/600 after the accession of Shah Jahan,[1] but the Shaikh's family's political fortunes were now practically eclipsed. The total number of <u>mansabs</u> held by the family henceforth never exceeded to 6000/3400.[2]

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1. <u>Badshahnama</u>, I, 184; <u>Nawab Farid</u>, 87.

2. The undernoted persons held <u>mansab</u> in Shah Jahan's reign:

(i)	Shaikh Farid son of Qutubuddin Khan	- 2500/1500	(<u>Badshahnama</u>,I,229)
(ii)	Ikram Khan	- 2000/1000	(<u>Ibid</u>.,)
(iii)	Shaikh Allah Diya	- 1000/ 700	(<u>Ibid</u>., 302)
(iv)	Shaikh Qutub	- 500/ 200	(<u>Ibid</u>., 329)
		6000/3400	

Chapter VII

THE FAMILY OF DAULAT KHAN LODI

The ancestors of Daulat Khan Lodi belonged to a powerful clan of Roh (hilly country south of Peshawar). After the establishment of the Lodi dynasty in India, Nusrat Khan son of Malik Ahmad Lodi came to India during the reign of Sikandar Lodi and joined service under Daulat Khan the governor of Lahore and married his niece. Nusrat Khan's brothers Bahar Khan and Daulat Khan also came to Lahore and were also admitted to the service of Daulat Khan Lodi. The three brothers were given two parganas, Lali Khakhar and Lakhi Jungali in jagir by Daulat Khan Lodi. Sometimes afterwards Daulat Khan, the brother of Nusrat Khan, was given the title of Sher Khan Lodi.[1]

At the time of the conquest of India by Babur, Daulat Khan (Sher Khan Lodi) along with his brothers and clansmen fled to Bihar and entered the service of Sultan Mahmud son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi who had proclaimed himself king in Bihar.[2] Daulat Khan was granted some villages in jagir from the assignments of Sher Khan Sur the jagirdar of Sahasram.[3]

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1. For more details regarding the ancestry of Daulat Khan Sher Khan Lodi, see Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 442-46. Sikandar Lodi added two more parganas in their jagir when they went to court to pay their homage.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 449-50

3. Ibid., 450.

After the defeat of the Afghans in the battle near Jaunpur in which Daulat Khan was seriously injured, escaped with his brother Nusrat Khan and deserted the profession of soldiery like other Afghan families.[1] In 1539 when Sher Shah Sur defeated Humayun at Chausa, Daulat Khan and his brothers joined his services and became one of his trusted officers.[2] He was despatched as a guardian of Qutub Khan, son of Sher Shah, to conquer certain Mughal possessions with the help of certain local chiefs. But the chiefs proved false to their promise and both Qutub Khan and Daulat Khan were killed.[3] Sher Shah paid tribute to Daulat Khan's services and summoned his four sons Mahmud Khan, Umar Khan, Qasim Khan and Kamal Khan. He gave them the parganas of Kampilah, Patiyali, Sakita and Bhongaon in the Doab in jagir. Umar Khan remained at the court and other brothers were sent to look after the jagir.[4]

During this period Alam Khan Lodi a prominent noble of Gujarat came to the court of Sher Shah. He was treated generously by Sher Shah and his daughter was married to Umar Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan Lodi, father of Khan Jahan, was the offspring of this marriage.[5]

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 451.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 451-52. The Mughal officer who joined the zamindars against Daulat Khan was Ulugh Khan.
4. Ibid., 453.
5. Ibid., 454-56, Daulat Khan Lodi was born in the fort of Gowalior during the last days of Islam Shah (1550).

The family fortunes went into eclipse once again after the death of Islam Shah, as they refused to accept the overlordship of Mubariz Khan, who had now seized the throne. Umar Khan was imprisoned at Chunar from where he escaped to Arail. His other brothers, however, remained in prison. When Mughal armies marched towards Delhi after Humayun's conquest of Panjab, Umar Khan's brother Mahmud Khan, Qasim Khan and Kamal Khan were brought out from prison and were sent under Hemu to fight the Mughals. In the Afghan defeat at Panipat Mahmud Khan and Qasim Khan were killed. Having come to know of these developments, Umar Khan considering it unsafe to stay any more in the Mughal territory went to Gujarat, in search of security and employment.[1] There his brother in law Mian Tatar Khan Alam Khan II introduced him to Sher Khan Fauladi. Not much is known about his life in Gujarat except that he also served for some time under Haji Khan who gave him Etawa , a village near Ahmadabad for his maintenance. He also married Daulat Khan to the daughter of Haybat Khan Bihlam, a noble of Gujarat.[2]

When the Mughals invaded Gujarat, Umar Khan was serving under Muhammad Khan son of Sher Khan Fauladi and was killed in the battle fighting against Mughals in his company. Daulat Khan who was also present

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1. <u>Tarikh-i Khan Jahani</u>, II, 458-59.

2. <u>Ibid</u>., 459-60, There is no reference about Umar Khan or his son Daulat Khan in <u>Mirat-i Sikandari</u> and <u>Mirat-i Ahmadi</u>.

in the battle, fled to Surat along with his clansmen.[1] Shortly afterwards when Shah Abu Turab joined Mughal service, he was also invited by him and introduced to Mirza Aziz Koka. Mirza Aziz took him in service and assigned him half of the pargana of Chhalwara in jagir.[2] However, Abu Turab does not mention Daulat Khan in his memoirs at all.[3]

Daulat Khan came to the court along with Mirza Aziz Koka in 1575. He was introduced to Akbar, who gave him his own shawl.[4] About the same time Mirza Aziz Koka was dismissed from service as he refused to cooperate in the implementation of the dagh regulations.[5] Sometimes later Mirza Aziz's sister was married to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and apparently at the same time on the request of Abdur Rahim, Mirza Aziz entrusted Daulat Khan to him. On this occasion Mirza Aziz allegedly told

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 462-63. There is no reference about Umar Khan and Daulat Khan in the accounts of the conquest of Gujarat either in Akbarnama, III, 9-16, or in Mirat-i Ahmadi.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 462-63; Z.K., II, 69-70 mentions that Daulat Khan in his youth was in the employment of Mirza Aziz Koka in Gujarat but makes no reference to the grant of the pargana of Chhalwara. Akbarnama, III, 785 briefly mentions that Daulat Khan was in the service of Mirza Aziz Koka.

3. Mir Abu Turab Wali, Tarikh-i Gujarat, ed. Denison Ross, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, 52-54.

4. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 463.

5. Z.K., II, 70, see also chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

Abdur Rahim 'Take care of this man if you want to rise high and get your father's title'.[1] The author of Zakhirat-ul Khawanin makes the interesting statement that from the day Daulat Khan came in the employment of Abdur Rahim he was trained under the supervision of Akbar. He was also given the rank of 1000.[2] But this is an exaggeration, because the Ain-i Akbari assigns him a mansab of 300 only.[3] Daulat Khan remained in the service of Abdur Rahim during his entire later career, except for a brief period of three years when his services were transferred to Prince Danial. As a soldier he distinguished himself in various campaigns. He distinguished himself particularly in the battles fought against Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat and Mirza Jami Beg of Sindh. After the victory over Mirza Jami Beg he was promoted to the rank of 2000 and appointed deputy governor.[4] Later on in the Deccan campaign also he played an important role in defeating Suhail Khan along with his two sons Pir Khan and Muhammad Khan.[5]

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1. Z.K., II, 70.

2. Ibid.

3. Ain, 164.

4. Akbarnama, III, 454-55, 608-10, Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 474-76; Z.K., I, 32-37. For more details of his activities in Gujarat and Sindh also see chapter 'The Family of Bairam Khan'. Promotion in rank has been referred by Farid Bhakkari and Nimatullah only.

5. Akbarnama, III, 700, 763; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 474-76; Z.K., I, 40-42.

Prince Danial who was appointed viceroy of the Deccan in 1599, was highly impressed by the activities of Daulat Khan. He asked Abdur Rahim to transfer Daulat Khan under him as 'he had no braveman like him in the retinue'. Danial promoted him to the rank of 3000 and granted him in _jagir_ six _parganas_ including Kavi from _sarkar_ Gujarat, Dawalgaon and Khalgaon, Nakalur from Bhatta and others.[1] Daulat Khan died in 1602 while in the service of Prince Danial.[2]

There is some discrepancy between the accounts of Daulat Khan's position in the accounts of the main chroniclers of Akbar's reign, where he is hardly mentioned and those of _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_ and the _Zakhirat-ul Khawanin_. The last two suggest that he enjoyed considerable status. When Abul Fazl and Abdur Rahim were serving in the Deccan, Abul Fazl once convened a meeting of the officers. In the course of discussion Abul Fazl said that in books _Shamsheer Bandi_ has been referred but he had not yet found a _Shamsheer Band_. Daulat Khan who was also present in the meeting and was under the influence of drink thought that Abul Fazl was referring to him. He drew his sword and ran towards Abul Fazl. Abdur Rahim caught hold of him and removed him from there. Abul Fazl thought

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1. _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_, II, 478-79; Nimatullah adds that Danial gave him the title of _Masnad-i Ali_ and office of _Vakil_. Abul Fazl states that 'Danial made him his own servant and had advanced him to the rank of 2000'. Cf. _Akbarnama_, III, 785.

2. _Akbarnama_, III, 785; _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_, II, 482-83.

that Daulat Khan's act of misbehaviour had been at the instance of Abdur Rahim and became unhappy with him. However, after sometime Abdur Rahim brought him (Daulat Khan) to the residence of Abul Fazl and effected a reconciliation between them. The Shaikh rewarded him with a horse, saropa and an elephant. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari further adds that Abdur Rahim had ten thousand Afghan soldiers under him in the Deccan and all of them were very friendly to Daulat Khan.[1]

Another incident of the same nature took place as early as in 1578 during the Mewar campaign where both Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and Shahbaz Khan were deputed. During the campaign a trouble arose in which Shahbaz Khan struck him with a stick on his mouth. Daulat Khan at once drew his sword and ran on him. Shahbaz Khan fled and complained to Abdur Rahim. But the latter took no notice of the incident. Because of this incident Shahbaz Khan remained hostile to Abdur Rhim throughout his career.[2] Daulat Khan also had very intimate relations with Man Singh.[3]

Daulat Khan was also given certain administrative duties by the Emperor. In 1586 when Bhagwan Das allegedly lost his balance of mind, Daulat Khan was employed by the Emperor to conduct Hakim Hasan and Mahadeo

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1. Z.K., II, 71.
2. Ibid., I, 154.
3. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 472-73; Z.K., II, 72-73.

to Atak for his treatment.[1] In 1594 when Akbar appointed certain officers to check the exactions of unauthorised tolls at ferries, Daulat Khan was given the task of ensuring compliance with the imperial ban fom Lahore to Bengal.[2] Along with these duties which he performed on the orders of the Emperor, Daulat Khan went on serving Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and Prince Danial, as has already been mentioned.

These facts indicate that Daulat Khan enjoyed an important position at the Mughal court. He was personally known to Akbar and had friendly relations with some of the leading nobles of the court. Prince Danial treated him as a 'son'. But strangely enough officially his rank as recorded in the Ain is only 300. Possibly the Mughals were still apprehensive about the Afghans and were not prepared to give them higher rank. Daulat Khan's personal behaviour was also perhaps an hurdle in in his promotion. Akbar feared him during his life time and is said to have remarked at the time of Daulat Khan's death, 'Today Sher Shah Sur is dead'.[3]

Daulat Khan left behind him three children, two sons and one daughter. Both the sons were unhappy with their father and fled to Bengal

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1. Akbarnama, III, 492.
2. Ibid., 670.
3. Z.K., II, 70.

where Man Singh was governor of the province, with whom the family had very friendly relations. But they could not stay there also because the day they reached Gaur, on account of some misunderstanding, they killed two nephews of Raja Man Singh; and when they reached Man Singh after the incident he gave them 3000 rupees and few horses although he had already come to know of the circumstances leading to the death of his nephews. He also ordered them to leave the country to go to their father because he thought that Rajputs might revenge themselves upon.[1]

After returning from there they entered the service first under Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and later on under Prince Danial. Muhammad Khan the eldest son was deeply religious and spent his time in the company of divines, but he remained a great favourite of the Prince. He became a disciple of Shah Abdullah Sermast Burhanpuri. Shortly afterwards he went half mad and was killed by a group of kols and Bhils near Pal (near Burhanpur). He was survived by two sons Mian Mumrez Khan and Bhhadur Khan who remained in the service of their uncle.[2]

Pir Khan was also very close to the Prince, who used to call him 'son'. After the death of Prince Danial, he joined the service of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.[3]

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 484-85; Z.K., II, 72-73.
2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 484-85; Z.K., II, 73; Takmila, III, 802-3.
3. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 489-90; Z.K., II, 72-73.

A little after the accession of Jahangir, Daulat Khan's son, Pir Muhammad (Pira) gained great eminence, being raised to the rank of 5000/5000 and granted the title of Khan-i Jahan. The case of Khan-i Jahan's admission and subsequent promotion in service was slightly different from the other Jahangiri nobles who were promoted after the accession. If we examine the list of nobles who were admitted and promoted to higher ranks it would appear that almost all of them were either in his personal service when he was a prince or helped him to secure the throne at the time of Akbar's illness and death.[1] Khan-i Jahan Lodi, on the other hand, had apparently no contact with him during his princehood and was away in the Deccan at the time Akbar died. Hence his induction into the highest echelons of Mughal aristocracy may be treated as a case of Jahangir's attempt to conciliate the Afghans. We come across certain other Afghan nobles who were raised to higher ranks by

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1. Following nobles were promoted after the accession and all of them were either his personal servants or helped him in the accession crisis.

    1. Mahabat Khan
    2. Sharif Khan Amir-ul Umara
    3. Ram Das Kachhwaha
    4. Bir Singh Deo Bundela
    5. Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang
    6. Ruknuddin Afghan

    and certain other nobles of the family of Shaikh Salim Chishti and Barha Sayyids.

    For more details, see Appendix 'A' for the list of nobles under Jahangir.

him.[1] The author of the Tarikh-i Khan Jahani highlights this point when he writes "He (Jahangir) gave so much attention to them (the Afghans) that they gave up their hostile attitude and bound themselves in submission and attachment to him even at the sacrifice of their lives. By their distinguished service they raised themselves to the ranks of great nobles and became worthy of being admitted to the Emperor's company".[2] It appears that Jahangir realised that if the Afghans, who during the preceding period had established themselves as chiefs, rulers and military commanders in the various parts of the country, and constituted a large part of the Mughal soldiery could be won over, they might render valuable service to him. The feeling of fear from the Afghans which had haunted the Mughals earlier, might now have been moderated considerably after the firm foundation that had been laid by Akbar for Mughal rule.

The author of the Tarikh-i Khan Jahani asserts that even before his accession Jahangir had wished to take Khan-i Jahan in his

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1. Besides Khan-i Jahan following other Afghans were also promoted to higher ranks and also given important assignments in the early years of Jahangir.
   (i) Dilawar Khan Kakar mansab of 1500, and charge of Lahore 1606 (Tuzuk, 23; Iqbalnama, 7).
   (ii) Sher Khan mansab of 3500, and charge of Peshawar and the Khaibar pass, 1607-1608 (Tuzuk, 7, 49, 60)
   (iii) Ghaznin Khan Jalori, mansab of 2000/700, 1610 (Tuzuk, 85)
   (iv) Mangali Khan mansab of 1500/800 (Tuzuk, 146).
   (v) Mubarak Khan Sarwani, mansab of 1000/300 and faujdar of Hissar, 1607 (Tuzuk, 65, 76).
   (vi) Taj Khan held the charge of Thatta (Tuzuk, 131).

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 489.

service, but Daniyal had not permitted this.[1] After Daniyal's death and at the time of Jahangir's accession, Khan-i Jahan was serving in the Deccan under Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. Mirza Ali Akbar who came to Jahangir's court from the Deccan after his accession highly praised Khan-i Jahan; and Jahangir summoned him to the court through Muqarrab Khan. In April 1607, Khan-i Jahan came in the escort of the sons of Daniyal and presented himself before Jahangir at Lahore. He was immediately given the rank of 3000/1500 and title of Salabat Khan. The title of farzand (son) was also given to him.[2] In the same year his title was changed to the much more exalted one Khan-i Jahan. In the following year he was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000. He also became one of the most influential nobles at the court. Jahangir himself states 'I promoted him beyond his fellows and equals. Today in my government there is none of greater influence than Khan Jahan, so much so that on his representation I pass over faults that are not pardoned at the intercession of any other servant of the court'. He adds 'What I have done for him has been done rightly and he will be exalted by further favours'.[3] These remarks were not among those that he made in

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 486, 491-92; Also see Tuzuk, 42-43.

2. Tuzuk, 42-43, 46; Iqbalnama, 30-31; Z.K., II, 74; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 492 mentions that after reaching Lahore he was given the rank of 2000.

3. Tuzuk, 66

fits of excitement. The great influence that Khan-i Jahan came to enjoy with Jahangir is also attested to by other contemporary and near contemporary works like the Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri and Zakhirat-ul Khwanin. For example in the second regnal year while returning from Kabul when a conspiracy that had been hatched to seize and depose Jahangir, was discovered, a number of conspirators were executed. According to Mutamid Khan, Asaf Khan whose son Nuruddin was also involved in the conspiracy would have been executed, but for Khan-i Jahan's intercession.[1] Similarly in the same year he is said to have intervened and saved Mirza Aziz from being executed.[2] Nimatullah states that Khan-i Jahan also saved Man Singh and other Rajputs from being expelled from the Empire.[3]

Farid Bhakkari gives yet another instance of the unprecedented favours shown to Khan-i Jahan. He writes that Jahangir wished to marry in the Mughal royal family. He also wanted to give him the title of sultan and assign him a place in the ghuslkhana. But Khan-i Jahan politely refused these offers submitting that these two privileges were reserved for the princes.[4]

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1. Iqbalnama, 27-28.

2. See chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

3. See chapter on 'The Family of Raja Bhar Mal Kachhwaha'. Khan-i Jahan also secured pardon for Dulip Rai. See Tuzuk, 70.

4. Z.K., II, 74-75.

Khan-i Jahan's rise was certainly remarkable in that before 1610 he had made no contribution to any military campaigns nor acted in any important administrative capacity. Hence apart from the personal charm of manners that he might have possessed, his rise can be explained only in the context of Jahangir's attempt to conciliate and reassure the Afghans by promoting one whom he thought to be of a very high status amongst them. While discussing the ancestry of Khan-i Jahan, Jahangir identifies him as the nephew of Daulat Khan Lodi hakim of Lahore, who sent his son Dilawar Khan to Babur to invite him to conquer India, adding that Daulat Khan and his son Dilawar Khan served loyally to under Babur and Humayun. But in the light of the ancestry given in Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, Jahangir's version is incorrect. Jahangir might have given this picture to justify his promotion.[1]

The information contained in Tarikh-i Khan Jahani and Zakhirat-ul Khwanin, indicates that the Mughal nobility was sharply divided on the question of admission and promotions being given to Afghan nobles. It is significant that the faction which was particularly hostile to them was led by Sharif Khan, Jahangir's great favourite and principal adviser of the early years. Those favouring the Afghans

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1. Tuzuk, 42-43
   Cf. Supra.

included Mirza Aziz Koka an old Akbarshahi noble and a great critic of Jahangir's policy towards nobility. Those who were against Afghans represented that it was impolitic to shower so much favours on an Afghan, and went to the extent of saying that Afghans were the enemies and should be expelled from the Empire. Orders to this effect were issued; but Mirza Aziz Koka protested on the ground that there were a large number of Afghans throughout the country and that the implementation of the order would lead to a great disturbance. Jahangir accepted Mirza Aziz Koka's arguments and the order was withdrawn.[1] There is no reference in the Tuzuk, however, to this entire matter.

Khan-i Jahan Lodi left the court for the first time in 1610 [illegible] appointment to any administrative duty. The circumstances in which he was sent to the Deccan again testify to the great confidence that Jahangir had come to place in him. Owing to the successive failures of Parvez, Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and other commanders in the Deccan crowned by the loss of Ahmadnagar, Jahangir himself decided to proceed to the Deccan at this point. Khan-i Jahan offered his services and Jahangir dropped the idea of going personally agreeing to send him practically as a substitute for himself. Jahangir speaks of his own unwillingness to let Khan-i Jahan

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 494;
   Z.K., I, 98-99, II, 186-87.

be away from the court. But perhaps he expected great exploits from him, notably in view of his long experience of the Deccan.[1]

Khan-i Jahan left for the Deccan on June 22, 1610 travelling via Ujjain and Mandu reaching Burhanpur in April. After staying for seven days at Burhanpur he started for Malkapur to join Parvez. In the meantime Amber's Marathas (bargis) attacked him and it was only with great difficulty that he could maintain his ground. When Abdur Rahim came to know about his arrival, he despatched his son Mirza Iraj and Mirza Darab to support him. After sometime Abdur Rahim along with Asaf Khan and other nobles also came and met him; and in their company Khan-i Jahan presented himself before the prince.[2] Soon after his arrival, an offensive was launched ag[illegible] on account of rainy, season, shortage of supplies and mutual jealousy among Mughal officers posted there.[3] Therefore the Mughals agreed to a proposal of Malik Amber on the condition that all the parganas from Balaghat to Ahmadnagar which had been under the Mughals during the time of Daniyal, be restored to them.[4]

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1. Tuzuk, 77-78; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 505; Z.K., II, 75. For his old association with Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, see Supra.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 505-509; Z.K., II, 75-76.

3. Ibid.; Tuzuk, 107; Iqbalnama, 43-44; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 56b.

4. Tuzuk, 107. But the details of the terms of treaty are given only in Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 510-11. Z.K., II, 76 fails to mention this campaign.

This could hardly be regarded as an achievement and the Mughal commanders began to accuse one another of treason. Jahangir records that Khan-i Jahan wrote to him that 'all this mischief and confusion had arisen through the treachery of the Khan Khanan; either this service should be left entirely in his control or summoning him to court, I should appoint to this duty this man whom I had myself cherished and brought up and appoint 30,000 troopers to support this slave (Khan-i Jahan) in order that in the space of two years, having freed the whole of the royal province, now in the possession of the enemy, and having brought the fort of Qandhar and other forts on the borders into the occupation of the servants of the court, he should include in the royal dominions the province of Bijapur'.[1] Jahangir accepted Khan-i Jahan's version of the episode, and Abdur Rahim was summoned to court, and Khan-i Jahan was given the command of the Deccan, and the responsibility of civil and revenue administration.[2] It is interesting that the _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_ seeks to cloak Khan-i Jahan's intrigue against Khan-i Khanan and his own unrealistic pledges, by giving a different version. Its reasons for the defeat of the Mughals are quite simple viz., the rainy season and shortage of supplies.[3] As

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1. _Tuzuk_, 86; _Iqbalnama_, 45; Mutamid Khan has copied _Tuzuk_'s account. Also see _Ma'asir-i Jahangiri_, 56b.

2. _Tuzuk_, 86, 107; _Iqbalnama_, 45; _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_, II, 510-11, gives more details of the campaign.

3. _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_, II, 509.

regards the alleged treachery of the Khan-i Khanan, Nimatullah's account presents Khan-i Jahan as his consistent defender. Nimatullah states that it was reported to the Emperor that Abdur Rahim was in league with Malik Amber and had given him several parganas including Jalna. There were certain other serious allegations against him, which caused displeasure to the Emperor, and he was summoned to Agra. On account of his old associations, Khan-i Jahan interceded on his behalf saying that there was no other person in the whole world of the calibre of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. He is said to have added that the complaint against Abdur Rahim was actually lodged by a groupm of selfish nobles on account of their malice and enmity towards him. He also took surety for the conduct of Abdur Rahim. Jahangir accepted his representation and Khan-i Khanan once again returned to favour and reappointed to the Deccan.[1]

Besides this Nimatullah also claims that Khan-i Jahan was actually responsible for clearing the misunderstanding and securing pardon for the other two old Akbarshahi nobles, Mirza Aziz Koka and Man Singh.[2]

These two contradictory statements bring before us Khan-i Jahan's duAl personality, hence it needs explanation; because neither

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 497-98; Cf. Tuzuk, 86-87.
2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 495, 500. See also chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

of the two versions can be rejected altogether. We have already seen that Khan-i Jahan's position among new nobles was not quite secure apparently on account of his Afghan descent and his meteoric rise.[1] Besides, Jahangir who showered great favours on him did not give high ranks either to his sons or any other relations.[2] Khan-i Jahan himself was unwilling to rally Afghans under himself for fear of rousing suspicions.[3] As a result he was shrewd enough to realise the value of friends within the nobility. Thus he continued to have good relations with the old Akbarshahi nobles; his secret demand that Khan-i Khanan should be recalled from the Deccan was therefore not in any irresoluble contradiction to his plea that the old noble should not be further humiliated.

Khan-i Jahan also failed to achieve any measure of success in the Deccan. His own biographer also makes only vague observation by saying that during his term he enjoyed popularity among the people and those commanders who had lost their <u>jagirs</u> got it back.[4] But somehow Jahangir does not seem to have believed that the Deccan could be left fully in his hands. Mirza Aziz Koka was appointed commander-in-chief

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1. See supra.

2. See Appendix 'A' for list of nobles of Jahangir.

3. See supra.

4. <u>Tarikh-i Khan Jahani</u>, II, 511-12.

in his place in 1611 and Jahangir planned a 'grand offensive' to dictate terms to Malik Ambar. During this campaign Khan-i Jahan seems to have been the effective commander, but the Mughals once again were defeated because of the lack of cooperation with the army marching from Gujarat under Abdullah Khan.[1] Abdullah Khan was directed to move into the Deccan via Nasik and Trimbak and Khan-i Jahan, Man Singh and Sharif Khan were to march from Berar. The commanders of two armies were ordered to inform each other about their movements and regulate their marches and halts in such a way that they might attack Malik Ambar simultaneously.

After the disaster Man Singh and Sharif Khan Amir-ul Umara advised Khan-i Jahan to return to Malkapur as the enemy was in much better position both in men and material and the imperial army was not only in short supplies but had lost all hope of getting any help from Abdullah Khan's army.[2] But Khan-i Jahan Lodi resisted their suggestion. Thereupon Man Singh and Sharif Khan held a meeting of the commanders and decided to abandon the campaign and return to Malkapur where Mirza Aziz Koka and Prince Parvez were staying. They also wrote to Mirza Aziz Koka informing the position of the imperial army and the attitude of

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 513-7; Tuzuk, 107; Iqbalnama, 65-66; Z.K., II, 75-77. For details of the Mughal defeat and collapse of the 'grand offensive' see chapter on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 516-17; Tuzuk, 86, 107, make no reference to this discussion.

Khan-i Jahan Lodi. They took full responsibility of their action in the event the Emperor or the Prince disagreed with their decision. Similarly they informed of their decision to Khan-i Jahan Lodi. He once again refused to return to Malkapur unless he was compelled to do so.[1] It appears that Mirza Aziz Koka, who had come to know of the collapse of the 'grand offensive', decided that the campaign had to be called off. However, about the same time that Man Singh's communication reached Malkapur, an agreement at the instance of Adil Shah and Malik Ambar was reached; and with this truce settlement, Mirza Aziz Koka asked the Mughal expeditionary force to return to Malkapur. Khan-i Jahan had thereupon no option but to return.[2] Khan-i Jahan Lodi was transferred to Berar by Parvez. The Emperor when came to know of this not only confirmed him in that position, but added a few more _mahals_ to his _jagir_.[3] About the same time Jahangir sent him _pundnama_ (letter of advices) as a mark of special favour.[4]

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1. _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_, II, 517-19. No other source has reported these details.

2. _Ibid._, 519.

3. _Ibid._, 520.

4. _Ibid._ _Pundnama_ or _Nasihatnama-i Jahangiri_, consists of Jahangir's maxims and regulations pertaining to private and public life. See _Ibid._, 701-703.

As Mirza Aziz Koka had also failed in the Deccan, it was suggested by Khwaja Abul Hasan and other nobles that Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan should once again be given the command in the Deccan.[1] Jahangir accepted this advice and sent a farman to Khan-i Jahan that since the affairs of the Deccan were in the hands of Abdur Rahim, he should come to court. He was also warned that if he continued to stay, no letter from the Emperor would in future be sent to him.[2] On receiving this _farman_, Khan-i Jahan consulted his _Vakil_, Rai Bhagwan Das, who advised him to seek the opinion of Prince Parvez and Abdur Rahim under whom he was presently working. As a reason for the delay it could be submitted that since the _kharif_ crop was ripe, his going to court at this juncture would cause great inconvenience to the peasantry; and it was thus necessary that his departure for the court be postponed for at least a month.

Khan-i Jahan informed Abdur Rahim about the imperial _farman_ and sought his advice. Abdur Rahim asked him to stay till the conclusion of the campaign and wrote to the Emperor requesting that Khan-i Jahan be allowed to remain in the Deccan till the final conquest. The Emperor agreed, but Khan-i Jahan was transferred to Thalner with the task of

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1. _Tuzuk_, 108; _Iqbalnama_, 67.

2. _Tarikh-i Khan Jahani_, II, 527-28.

expelling rebel Kols and Bhils and checking the advance of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat to the Deccan. He was assigned few parganas in *tankhwah jagir* in exchange of *jagirs* vacated in Berar.[1]

Khan-i Jahan remained at Thalner for about one year and seven months. Afterwards on the request of Parvez, Khan-i Jahan was posted to Burhanpur which he reached in March 1614.[2] During the time when he was staying in Burhanpur, Jahangir despatched several *farmans* asking him to come to the court. He often remembered him at the court also. Hence Nur Jahan suggested that as Jahangir was anxious to see ~~him and was also concerned about the progress of the~~ Deccan conquest, he should be summoned to court and a report about the actual situation in the Deccan be obtained from him.[3]

Hence a *farman* to this effect was despatched to Burhanpur with the approval of Nur Jahan, Mahabat Khan and other important nobles of the court. Upon the arrival of this *farman*, Prince Parvez and Abdur Rahim wrote to the Emperor that Khan-i Jahan's services were still required in the Deccan. The Emperor rejected their appeal and ordered Khan-i Jahan to come to the court without further delay to report on the

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1. *Tarikh-i Khan Jahani*, II, 529-30; *Z.K.*, II, 77, briefly mentions that after the defeat, Khan-i Jahan was transferred to the *Thanedari* of Thalner.

2. *Tarikh-i Khan Jahani*, II, 530-31.

3. *Ibid.*, 531-32. No other source has referred to these details.

Deccan affairs. He left Burhanpur on 22nd June 1615 and reached Ajmer where Jahangir was then holding court, in twenty two days.[1]

The details of the activity of Khan-i Jahan after the failure of the 'grand offensive' in 1612 are furnished in the Tarikh-i Khan Jahani. Its author quite naturally makes no reference to Jahangir's unhappiness towards the author's patron on account of his failures. Jahangir himself has not mentioned Khan-i Jahan during the intervening year (1612 to 1615). In the account of 10th year of his reign (1615) he simply mentions 'As I had a great desire to see my farzand Khan-i Jahan Lodi and for the purpose of enquiring into important matters connected with the Deccan, it was necessary for him to come at once, I sent for him'.[2] But the information contained in the Zakhirat-ul Khwanin, though very brief, is clear and is corroborated by the facts stated in the Tarikh-i Khan Jahani. The Zakhirat-ul Khawanin says that after the failure of the campaign the nobles involved in it were demoted, transferred and censured. He pointedly mentions Abdullah Khan, Mirza Aziz Koka and Khan-i Jahan among those who fell from grace. About Khan-i Jahan he writes that he was demoted to the Thanedari of Thalner from the subadari of the Deccan.[3] Nimatullah also

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 532-33; Tuzuk, 145-46, briefly mention that he summoned Khan-i Jahan to court to discuss about the Deccan problem.

2. Tuzuk, 145-46.

3. Z.K., II, 77.

records the transfer, first to Elichpur and after that to Thalner. From his account it is also evident that Khan-i Jahan sought to avoid going to the court.[1] He himself writes that as Khan-i Jahan delayed in reaching the court, certain nobles sought to denigrate him in the eyes of Jahangir by saying that he was reluctant to come to court as he had not discharged his duties faithfully.[2] But there must have been some other reason for his anxiety to stay in the Deccan. Since if Jahangir was annoyed with him, going to court would have been one means of mollifying Jahangir. Indeed when Khan-i Jahan arrived at the court, he was warmly received with the usual favour.[3] It is possible that the main reason of his wishing to stay away from the court was to avoid giving his opinion in regard to the Deccan affair. He might have come to the conclusion that Nurjahan, Mahabat Khan and a section of the nobles were trying to discredit both Prince Parvez and Abdur Rahim and get them transferred so as to clear the way for Khurram. As Khan-i Jahan had been serving in the Deccan, they might have expected an adverse report about Parvez and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. But Khan-i Jahan Lodi who himself had failed when he was appointed as the supreme commander, appears to have been in a dilemma, as his relations with Abdur Rahim were very old and cordial.

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1. See Infra.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 529.

3. Tuzuk, 146-47. On his arrival, Khan-i Jahan was presented a khilat, elephant and other valuables.

He might also have been convinced during his long stay in the Deccan that the charges against Abdur Rahim of accepting bribes from the Deccanis were baseless. Besides, he may also have developed cordial relations with Prince Parvez.

Some of these inferences that we have drawn are corroborated by the discussion that took place at the court after the arrival of Khan-i Jahan Lodi from Burhanpur.

Khan-i Jahan Lodi reached Ajmer in 1615.[1] Nimatullah gives an interesting account of the discussion that took place at a meeting that was convened by the Emperor to discuss the Deccan problem. Jahangir asked Khan-i Jahan four questions: firstly he asked him to give reasons of his retreat from Balaghat; secondly, why the reinforcement could not reach Abdullah Khan; thirdly, what was the opinion of the nobles specially that of Man Singh and Amir-ul Umara Sharif Khan in connection with the retreat of the army from Burhanpur; and lastly, he questioned him about the actual state of affairs in the Deccan and the nature of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan's conduct and activities. One of the nobles present in the meeting in the course of the discussion criticised Abdur Rahim and asserted that as long as he was there affairs in the Deccan would not be settled. Khan-i Jahan strongly refuted these allegations

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1. Tuzuk, 146; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 534.

and said that the Deccanis were much too strong to be quickly and easily suppressed. Jahangir complained that ten years had passed by and huge amount of money had been spent without any sign of progress. He added that whoever comes from there (the Deccan) reports that the delay was because of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. If efforts had been made by him in right earnest, the campaign would have succeeded. At this stage Khurram who was also present in the meeting offered to proceed to the Deccan. Khan-i Jahan interved and said that Parvez was the heir to the throne; he and his ataliq Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan were making utmost efforts to conquer the Deccan. He submitted that Khurram's appointment to the Deccan would cause dissension and disunity. Nimatullah says that upon this plain speaking of Khan-i Jahan, the nobles present in the meeting were stunned and said nothing. The Emperor also remained silent; the nobles took leave from him and the meeting came to an end.[1] No other source has reported this discussion, but as Jahangir himself writes that Khan-i Jahan was summoned to discuss the Deccan problem, some discussion must have taken place after his arrival and the later events tend to confirm Nimatullah's account: Parvez was transferred and Khurram took over the command.[2] Besides, Thomas Roe's account largely coincides with Nimatullah's

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 536-40.

2. Tuzuk, 161, 164-65. Khurram was despatched to the Deccan in 1616.

remarks. Roe states (12 June 1616) 'There is resolution taken that Sultan Khurram shall go to the Deccan wars. Prince Parvez is called home who (it is reported) wrote to his father that if he would send his elder brother he would obey, but to dishonour by employing this, he would first fall on him and after finish the war. All the captains as Khan-i Jahan, Khan Khanan and Mahabat Khan refuse to stay if this tyrant came to command'.[1]

However, soon after, he was again sent back to the Deccan in the company of Mahabat Khan. At the time of his departure he was given a <u>khilat</u>, horse, elephant and sword; and Shahbaz Khan Lodi (probably some kinsman) was at his request promoted to the rank of 2000/1000.[2]

In 1616, Khurram was despatched to the Deccan disregarding Khan Jahan's suggestion and Parvez was transferred to Allahabad.[3] We have no information about what Khan-i Jahan did in the Deccan under Khurram; but on the recommendation of Khurram he was promoted to the rank of 6000/6000.[4] Khan-i Jahan returned to court on October 12, 1617 along with Khurram.[5]

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2. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 147.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., 164-65.
4. <u>Ibid</u>., 184.
5. <u>Ibid</u>., 195.

After returning from the Deccan in 1617, Khan-i Jahan Lodi wasnot given any important assignment for the next three years. When he came to court, he was appointed *faujdar* of Agra and remained with the Emperor.[1] In 1619, when he accompanied Jahangir to Kashmir the *faujdari* of Agra was given to Amanat Khan. On his return to Lahore in November 1620 from Kashmir, Jahangir appointed him governor of Multan with the additional charge of the defence of the fort of Qandhar.[2] In the light of the above facts and a close examination of the evidence contained in *Intekhab-i Jahangirshahi*, it seems that Khan-i Jahan's decline might also have been the result of the excessive influence enjoyed by Itimad-ud daulah's family.[3]

During his governorship of Multan, Qandhar fell to the Safavids. Khan-i Jahan informed the Emperor about this while he was in Kashmir. The Emperor left Kashmir and issued a *farman* to Khan-i Jahan asking him not to start in the direction of Qandhar before the arrival of the imperial army[4] because 'kings are to be opposed by kings'.[5]

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1. *Tuzuk*, 267; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 124b.

2. *Ibid.*, 323; *Iqbalnama*, 176-77; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 141a; *Z.K.*, II, 77 - 78.

3. For a detailed discussion on the information contained in *Intekhab-i Jahangirshahi*, see chapter on 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

4. *Tuzuk*, 344-45; *Iqbalnama*, 191-92; *Z.K.*, II, 78-79.

5. *Z.K.*, II, 79.

However, Asalat Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000;[1] sometimes later Khan-i Jahan came to the court apparently to discuss the loss of Qandhar, but after staying for sometime at the Court, he returned to Multan.[2] While he was going to the court, according to Farid Bhakkari, people believed that on this occasion his life would not be spared.[3] Without discussing the reasons for this understanding among people he further mentions that after the fall of Qandhar, many Afghan tribes from near Qandhar came to Khan-i Jahan in Multan on account of their tribal feelings and offered to serve in his army in large numbers till they had conquered Isfahan provided he promised to pay them five tanka per day per horseman and two tankas for a foot soldier. Khan-i Jahan refused their assistance saying that if the king came to know of this kind of agreement, he would never allow him to live.[4] Presumably Khan-i Jahan was hinting at the suspicions that would be inevitably engendered if Afghans gathered around him.

It is surprising why Jahangir ordered him not to proceed to defend Qandhar although full preparations had been made and many

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1. Tuzuk, 352.

2. Tuzuk, 348, 351-52; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 156b; Z.K., II, 79.

3. Z.K., 79.

4. Ibid.

nobles from the Deccan were despatched to Multan for his help.[1] Perhaps, Jahangir hoped that a much larger army under Khurram was needed to make any impression on a fort like Qandhar.

Meanwhile Khurram openly revolted and refused to move to Qandhar. Khan-i Jahan was summoned urgently to the court. Owing to ill health his departure was delayed. Jahangir however thought the delay was deliberate and was reported to have said 'If at this time Sher Shah were living, he would in spite of all his enmity have come to us, and yet you have not come'.[2] This misunderstanding was possible because during that crucial period a large number of nobles decided to go over to Khurram's side and on the other hand Jahangir had not yet informed of his illness.

In 1623, Jahangir anxious to mass troops against Shahjahan sent Muiz-ul Mulk to summon him to the court. Muiz-ul Mulk returned to court and delivered the letter of Khan-i Jahan in which he spoke of his own serious illness. He also sent his son Asalat Khan with

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1. Tuzuk, 344-45. Jahangir despatched Khwaja Abul Hasan the diwan and Sadiq Khan Bakhshi in advance to Lahore to make arrangements and summoned armies from Bengal, Gujarat and Bihar. Bahadur Khan Uzbek was deputed to go as auxiliary to the army of Qandhar. Iqbalnama, 191-92; English Factories in India, 1622-23, 99, 112.

2. Z.K., II, 80.

1000 horse to serve under the Emperor and expressed regrets at being deprived of the honour of meeting him. Jahangir after receiving this letter, in his memors writes 'As his apology was evidently sincere, I accepted it'.[1]

Khan-i Jahan came to the court in the 19th year (1524). After his arrival he was given charge of the defence of the Agra fort and Thanedari of Fathpur Sikri. But when the Emperor proceeded to Kashmir in the same year Khan-i Jahan Lodi also accompanied him.[2] On the Emperor's return to Lahore, he was appointed governor of Gujarat on the death of Mirza Aziz Koka. But it is significant that Dawar Bakhsh the nominal governor of Gujarat was now summoned to court, probably to leave a free hand to Khan-i Jahan.[3] Sometimes afterwards (September 1625) he was made ataliq of sultan Parvez in place of Mahabat Khan who was transferred to Bengal. Parvez refused to relieve Mahabat Khan and accept Khan-i Jahan as his ataliq but ultimately when another firmly worded farman was communicated to him, he agreed. After Parvez's death in October 1626 Khan-i Jahan was appointed as viceroy of the Deccan in his own right.[4]

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1. Tuzuk, 360; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 168b, 170b-171a; Z.K., II, 80.
2. Tuzuk, 373, 375-76; Z.K., II, 80.
3. Iqbalnama, 230-31; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 184b, 185a; Z.K., II, 280.
4. Ibid., 245, 248; Ibid., 187b; Ibid., 80, 131-32; A Dutch Chronicle, 74.

We have very little information in our sources about the Deccan during the closing years of Jahangir's reign. However, serious allegations come to be made about Khan-i Jahan's conduct in the Deccan and these need some consideration.

Mutamid Khan in Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri and Kamgar Husaini in Ma'asir-i Jahangiri say that Khan-i Jahan sold the whole of Balaghat for a sum of 3 lakh huns only.[1] The other allegation related to his hostile attitude towards Shahjahan after the death of Jahangir. The information contained in a recently discovered work Anfaul Akhbar[2] and close study of even Mutamid Khan's own account discount the force of their allegation.

First of all this must be made clear that Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, Ma'asir-i Jahangiri and Badshahnama were written during the reign of Shahjahan and come under the category of official histories. Therefore whatever they wrote, it was in close conformity

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1. Iqbalnama, 283-84, 299; Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shahjahan Padshah, 77-78; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 216b. Modern historians Beni Prasad and B.P. Saksena have also accepted their version. Cf. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, 389-90, and B.P. Saksena, History of Shahjahan of Dihli, 130. R.A. Alavi on the basis of some new information available in Anfaul Akhbar has seriously doubted the authenticity of Mutamid Khan's version, but has not offered an explanation. Cf. R.A. Alavi, 'Evidence on the Last Years of Jahangir's Reign in the Anfaul Akhbar', Indian History Congress, 1975.

2. Muhammad Amin bin Daulat Muhammad al-Husaini, Anfaul Akhbar, Rotograph copy, Asafiya Library, No.974, 42/18/9. British Museum No. Oriental 1761. For details about the book and its author, see Rafi Ahmad Alavi, 'Evidence of the Last Years of Jahangir's Reign in the Anfaul Akhbar', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1975.

with the bias current at the court. On account of Shah Jahan's hostility towards Khan-i Jahan, they have not recorded many achievements of Khan-i Jahan and in certain cases misrepresented the facts. Even Muhammad Amin the author of Anfaul Akhbar who wrote the account of Jahangir's reign also (including Khan Jahan's activities in the closing years) had to cut down many of the informations and change it to suit the official version of Shahjahan's time. However, the corrections are made in such a manner that one can read both the versions and form his own opinion.[1]

The rebellion of Shahjahan created utter confusion in the Deccan. Mahabat Khan after reaching there tried to retrieve the Mughal position and entered into an alliance with the Adil Shahis against Malik Ambar.[2] But after his departure to Bengal, Malik Ambar inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined forces at Bhatodi (10 miles from Ahmadnagar), and laid siege on Ahmadnagar. He left his men to pursue the siege and himself proceeded towards Balaghat and captured the entire territory of Balaghat.[3] He also besieged the fort of

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1. He changed the version of Qandhar campaign, particularly Khurram's role in it, the rebellion of Khurram, and the account of the Deccan in the last years of Jahangir's reign (1624-26). For details see Anfaul Akhbar (Asafiya), 220, 222-23, 229-30, 235.

2. For details, see chapter on 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

3. Anfaul Akhbar (Asafiya) 225-27, (B.M.) 235ab; Iqbalnama, 235-38; and Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 183b-184b also tell us about the Mughal discomfiture, and Lashkar Khan, Mirza Manuchahar and Aqidat Khan being taken prisoner by Malik Ambar, but do not make any reference to the battle of Pateri or Bhatodi.

Burhanpur. While the siege operations were in progress, Shahjahan once again appeared in the Deccan after being expelled from Bihar and Bengal and joined Malik Ambar in pressing the siege. But they were forced to raise the siege on the approach of Mahabat Khan and the arrival of reinforcements.[1] Thereafter we have no other information to show how the Mughals recovered the territories of Balaghat that had been lost to Malik Ambar. About this time Mahabat Khan was transferred and Khan-i Jahan took over as _ataliq_ of Parvez.[2] We have no information in our sources to suggest that Khan-i Jahan was able to recover Balaghat from the Nizam Shahis during the period that he was _ataliq_ of Parvez.

In October 1626 Parvez died and Khan-i Jahan was appointed viceroy of the Deccan.[3] From October 1626 to the death of Jahangir when he was viceroy of the Deccan, there are only two references about the state of affairs in the Deccan in our sources. In the first reference it had been mentioned that after the death of Malik Ambar in May 1626 Yaqub Khan Habshi, being dissatisfied with the handling of the affairs of the state by the young Nizam Shah and other nobles

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1. _Iqbalnama_, 237-38, 243,44, _Ma'asir-i Jahangiri_, 183b-184a. But Muhammad Amin does not say that Shahjahan had also joined hands with Malik Ambar. Cf. _Anfa-ul Akhbar_ (Asafiya) 227-28, 231-32.

2. _Iqbalnama_, 245, 248; _Anfaul Akhbar_, 216-17.

3. _Ibid._, 273, 279-80; _Ibid._, 239b.

opened negotiations with Sarbuland Rai on behalf of himself and Fateh Khan (the son of Malik Ambar), offering allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. Khan-i Jahan accepted the offer and wrote to Yaqub Khan in warm terms and directed the amirs to receive them with hospitality and respect and to bring them to Burhanpur. But we are not informed about the outcome of these negotiations.[1]

Next we hear that Fath Khan and other officers were despatched by Nizam Shah to create disturbance in the imperial territories. They captured most of the thanas of Balaghat and Jauhar Khan Habshi another Nizam Shahi officer with a large force besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar.[2] Sipahdar Khan the qiladar of Ahmadnagar vigorously defended the fort and forced him to retreat. Soon afterwards, however, Jauhar Khan reappeared with a strong force of Bargis. At this juncture, Khan-i Jahan Lodi after leaving Lashkar Khan to protect Burhanpur marched to Balaghat, and proceeded towards Daulatabad, the Nizam Shahi capital. He defeated Nizam Shahis and, forcing the Nizam Shah to take refuge in Daulatabad, and burnt down

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1. Iqbalnama, 280. See also Anfaul Akhbar (Asafiya) 235, (B.M.) 239b, where the name of Fath Khan, and the details of communication that took place between Yaqub Khan, Sarbuland Rai and Khan-i Jahan are not, however, mentioned. A Dutch Chronicle, 85-86.

2. Anfaul Akhbar (B.M.) 239b-40a, but the name of Fath Khan had been mentioned by Mutamid Khan. Cf. Iqbalnama, 282.

the surrounding areas. Nizamul Mulk realising his weakness opened negotiations with Khan-i Jahan. Ultimately, it was agreed that whatever territories the two sides were holding before this war, they would continue to hold. After concluding this treaty returned to Balaghat.[1]

The information contained in the <u>Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri</u> is identical about this campaign from the beginning to the arrival of Khan-i Jahan at Khirki.[2] Thereafter the version diverges. Instead of the treaty that the <u>Anfaul Akhbar</u> describes, Mutamid Khan alleges that Hamid Khan Habshi approached him and by stratagem succeeded in getting the whole of Balaghat vacated upon payment of three lakh huns. Khan-i Jahan issued orders to his officers to hand over Balaghat to Nizam Shahis. All the officers, obeying his orders vacated their posts, but Sipahdar Khan, the <u>qiladar</u> of Ahmadnagar refused demanding a royal <u>farman</u> to this effect.[3]

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1. <u>Anfaul Akhbar</u> (Asafiya), 267-68, (B.M.), 239b-40b; <u>A Dutch Chronicle</u>, 87, states that Abdullah Khan who was with Khan-i Jahan at this time entered into secret coorespondence with the Nizam Shahis and planned the destruction of Khan-i Jahan's army.

2. <u>Iqbalnama</u>, 282-83; Cf. <u>Anfaul Akhbar</u>, 239b.

3. <u>Ibid</u>., 282-84, but <u>Anfaul Akhbar</u>, 239b-40b makes no reference to this deal of Khan-i Jahan with the Nizam Shahis.

Quite clearly the events or alleged events that Mutamad Khan records, are wrongly ascribed by him to the settlement made with the Nizamshahis immediately after Khan-i Jahan's successful campaign of 1626-7. For one thing, Muhammad Amin[1] would hardly have missed the opportunity of praising his patron Sipahdar Khan, had his refusal to surrender Ahmadnagar occurred before he finished his work, which was just before Jahangir's death. But it is Lahori's account, which is decisive. He says that the surrender of Balaghat by Khan Jahan took place after the death of Jahangir and before the formal accession of Jahangir, a period during which, according to the official chronicler, Khan Jahan had fallen prey to perverse counsel and improper ambitions. It was then that he handed over the Mughal posts in Balaghat, especially the fort of Bir, to the Nizamshahis. It is curious that Lahori does not mention the alleged bribe of 3 lakh huns. Nor does he mention Sipahdar Khan's action in refusing to surrender Ahmadnagar.[2]

From all this one can draw the following inferences:

(1) Khan Jahan seized large areas, including Bhir and other areas in Balgghat, besides Ahmadnagar, as a result of his successful campaign in 1626-27

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1. Muhammad Amin was in the service of Sipahdar Khan (later Khanjar Khan) the commandant of the fort of Ahmadnagar.

2. <u>Badshahnama</u>, I, 85-86.

(2) Upon hearing the news of the death of Jahangir and Shahjahan's march northwards from Nasik, Khan Jahan became anxious to leave the Deccan with as many troops as possible to take the side of Dawar Bakhsh, who had then been proclaimed King at Lahore

(3) It was not possible to withdraw forces from the Deccan without concessions to the Nizamshahis, which Khan Jahan made now.

(4) The concession seems to have involved largely the cession of territory in Balaghat regained by Khan Jahan in 1626-7. It did not probably involved Ahmadnagar at all, which since 1616 had never been lost. Khan Jahan probably never personally received three lakhs of huns, an immense amount for those days; this was probably promised, and that also, quite possibly, for Dawar Bakhsh. This might explain Lahori's silence over the matter.

Khan-i Jahan was still viceroy of the Deccan when Jahangir died. Mutamid Khan and other official historians of Shahjahan's reign state that Dawar Bakhsh son of Khurram was raised to the throne only as a sacrificial lamb in order to secure the succession of Shahjahan.[1] It is said that Asaf Khan despatched his personal servant Banarsi to

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1. Iqbalnama, 293-94, Mutamid Khan specifically used the word

Badshahnama, I, 69-70, 72. Banarsi Prasad Saksena also accepts the version of Mutamid Khan. See History of Shahjahan, 57.

Shahjahan to come immediately to court with full details. Shahjahan, thereafter despatched Jan Nisar Khan with a *farman* to Khan-i Jahan, conferring on him the *subahdari* of the Deccan. Jan Nisar Khan was also asked to ascertain his views about his accession and also to seek his permission to go to through Burhanpur. Khan-i Jahan refused to acknowledge the *farman* and also refused to allow Shahjahan passing through Burhanpur. In fact, Khan Jahan declared for Dawar Bakhsh, proclaiming him Emperor even in his *jagirs* in Gujarat.[1] Not only that Khan-i Jahan also captured Malwa when Mahabat Khan was despatched towards that region by Shahjahan.

Mutamid Khan is to suggest that Khan-i Jahan's act was rebellious, because he was supporting Dawar Bakhsh against Shahjahan who was the real successor.[2]

There is no denying to this fact that Khan-i Jahan was supporting Dawar Bakhsh, because the English Factory records also

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1. *Iqbalnama*, 294, 297-300. Mutamid Khan adds that Darya Khan Rohilla who had lately joined Khan-i Jahan after deserting Shahjahan, and Afzal Khan, *diwan* of the Deccan, who was was brother of Shaharyar's *diwan* were responsible for Khan-i Jahan's hostile attitude towards Shahjahan. Regarding the capture of Malwa, Farid Bhakkari states that he took this action because his family was residing there. Cf. *Z.K.*, II, 81-82. It might be that he wanted to control his route to the capital which lay through Malwa. See also *Badshahnama*, I, 76.

2. *Iqbalnama*, 299-300.

corroborate the Persian sources.[1] But it would be difficult to prove as asserted by Mutamid Khan and other official historians that Khan-i Jahan's action was particularly hostile to Shahjahan. As a matter of fact if Dawar Bakhsh was really raised as a 'escape goat' it was closely guarded secret and except Asaf Khan no other noble knew of it. From the reports which must have been received by Khan-i Jahan and other nobles in the Deccan, it would have appeared that Dawar Bakhsh had received the support of all the important nobles including Nurjahan. On the contrary, during this period Shahjahan's position was very weak. His supporters had deserted him and until he reached Gujarat, he had a very small following.[2] Hence in these circumstances Khan-i Jahan, who no doubt was not very happy with Shahjahan, particularly from his action of raising Mahabat Khan to a very high position by giving him the rank of Khan Khanan, decided to support Dawar Bakhsh who was apparently the choice of all the leading nobles at the Court.[3]

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1. English Factory Records (1624-29), 233, 'Khan Jahan hath sent his son to Broach, and in his jagirs in this province, even in Naraid the khutba of Bulaqi is used'.

2. Shahjahan even thought of returning to Persia to obtain the help of his friend, Shah Abbas of Persia. In the same year he fell ill. A number of his servants like Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung and Darya Khan Rohilla left him. For more details, see Iqbalnama, 273-74, 280-82; Z.K., II,

3. Z.K., II, 81-82. At the time of the arrival of Jan Nisar Khan with the farman of Shahjahan, in the discussion that took place among the servants of Khan-i Jahan, Shahjahan's undue favour to Mahabat Khan was particularly mentioned as a grievance.

Raj Gaj Singh, Jai Singh and other nobles also accompanied Khan-i Jahan up to Mandu and apparently supported Dawar Bakhsh.[1] Shahjahan's position considerably improved when he reached Gujarat, and after that many nobles who were with Khan-i Jahan left him. It is even not fully established that Asaf Khan considered Dawar Bakhsh only as a stop gap arrangement from the very beginning. Shahjahan had to urge upon Asaf Khan, while proceeding from Gujarat to Agra that it would be very well if in these troubled days, Dawar Bakhsh, his brothers and the sons of Daniyal are eliminated (from this world) and the well wishers would be saved from mental tension.[2]

But actually what is more intriguing is the attitude that Khan-i Jahan maintained when later on most nobles joined Shahjahan. One obvious reason could have been an increased misunderstanding between him and Shahjahan. This might have been further aggravated because of the rise of Mahabat Khan with whom his relations were far from cordial.

The other aspect is more significant. In a _farman_ issued to Raja Jai Singh, Dawar Bakhsh assumed the title of Sher Shah.[3] The

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1. _Iqbalnama_, 300.

2. _Ibid._, 303.

3. Bikaner, Old serial No.176, New S.N. 21. _Tarikh-i Alam Ara-i Abbasi_, 750.

assumption of this title by a Mughal prince is really significant because Sher Shah expelled Humayun and reestablished Afghan rule in India.

There can be only two explanations for this step. Firstly Dawar Bakhsh by this move wanted to secure the support of Khan-i Jahan and other Afghans, because Khan-i Jahan was the leading noble of the Mughal Empire and the chief noble among the Afghans. Of course, he might also have wanted to exploit the name of Sher Shah who was very popular among the masses as well as in the nobility because of his competence as an administrator. No less than a person than Mirza Aziz Koka in 1613 had written in a letter to Jahangir that 'Sher Shah Afghan was not a king (malik) but an angel (malak). In six years he gave such stability to the structure that the foundation still survives'. There are guarded admissions in Abul Fazl also to this effect.[1]

After the accession of Shahjahan, Khan-i Jahan Lodi sent his vakil to the court with letters of apologies, assuring him of obedience and loyalty. Shahjahan accepted his representation and confirmed him

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1 . Gowaliornama, 19a.
Also see, 'The Mughal Empire in History', 3.

the governorship of the Deccan.[1] But in the same year he was replaced by Mahabat Khan on the charge that he was reluctant to recover the territories lost to the Deccanis.[2] About the same time he came to know that Mahabat Khan had advised the Emperor to seize his family and treasures in Malwa. Upon this he took precautionary measures and started towards Malwa. Although this proved to be a mere rumour, but his servants were convinced that Khan-i Jahan's days were numbered and many of them fled to the court.[3]

Khan-i Jahan came to the court in 1629 after suppressing the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela. He was disappointed at the reception accorded to him on his arrival, as no noble came out to welcome him.[4] Besides, Shahjahan reprimanded him for coming to the court at the head of a big force (7000 horses). He was ordered to keep only a limited number of troopers and his du aspa sih aspa rank was also curtailed. His jagir of Ujjain and Malwa was resumed. About the same time Fazil Khan the Bakhshi of the Deccan warned him to remain vigilant and keep his retainers as the Emperor was looking for an opportunity to ~~xxx~~ arrest him.[5] Certain

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1. Badshahnama, I, 199; Z.K., II, 82-83; Maasir-ul Umara, III, 719-20.

2. Badshahnama, I, 273.

3. Z.K., II, 84-85.

4. Badshahnama, I, 352; Z.K., II, 87. Shahjahan removed Mahabat Khan to Delhi because the latter on account of high military rank or the title of Khan Khanan would not bow to Khan-i Jahan.

5. Z.K., II, 88.

other incidents also took place that completely shook his confidence.[1] He might have come to the conclusion that Shahjahan who had already executed royal princes on the eve of his accession would not pardon him for his role in the war of succession.

Therefore according to Farid Bhakkari, Khan-i Jahan decided to resign from imperial service. He prepared a list of the imperial treasures, horses, elephants and armoury that he had under him and came to Asaf Khan. Asaf Khan became quite concerned and said that all nobles should resign if the things go like that. However, he advised Khan-i Jahan to put a restraint upon his emotions and promised to intervene in the matter. But it appears that Asaf Khan's efforts also failed and Khan-i Jahan's entire property was confiscated.[2]

Shahjahan also attempted to create dissension in the camp of Khan-i Jahan. He summoned Khan-i Jahan's sons and other relations, promoted them to higher ranks and assigned fresh <u>mansabs</u> to those who had no rank. Bahadur Khan, brother's son of Khan-i Jahan, was promoted to the rank of 3500. He and Khan Jahan's other relations were given <u>jagirs</u>

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1. <u>Badshahnama</u>, I, 273; <u>Z.K.</u>, II, 91. One night Mirza Lashkari son of Mukhlis Khan said in jest to the sons of Khan-i Jahan that they and their father would soon be thrown into prison. Khan-i Jahan was much dismayed on hearing this and retired to his house.

2. <u>Z.K.</u>, II, 91-92; Khafi Khan, I, 412.

in Gujarat and ordered to go to take charge of their _jagirs_. Many of the personal servants of Khan-i Jahan were also given _mansabs_ and _jagirs_.[1]

On account of these steps taken by the Emperor a large number of Khan-i Jahan's followers left his service.[2] Khan-i Jahan naturally started feeling insecure in these circumstances, and one night fled away along with his family and followers.[3] He was hotly pursued by the imperial army and defeated and killed along with his four sons in 1631.[4]

If we go through the details of the rebellion of Khan-i Jahan, it would appear that Shahjahan failed in his attempts to isolate him from his relations and followers. Almost all the Afghan nobles and chiefs collected under him.[5] We have also some evidence to show that Khan-i Jahan had close links with Afghans of the frontier region.[6]

It seems on this account, none of the surviving sons of Khan-i Jahan, Muzaffar (he came to the court leaving his father while the

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1. _Z.K._, II, 92-93.

2. _Z.K._, II, 93-95. Lodi Khan Niyazi, Qazi Khan Barki, Nisar Khan Panni, Muzaffar Khan Ghilzai were among those who left Khan-i Jahan and went to their home.

3. _Badshahnama_, I, 275; _Z.K._, II, 99-101.

4. _Badshahnama_, I, 349-351; _Z.K._, II Also see Banarsi Prasad _History of Shahjahan of Delhi_, 71, 77-79, 81-82.

5. _Badshahnama_, I, 277-78; _Z.K._, II, 87-88; _Maasir-ul Umara_, III, 720-22

6. See Supra

rebellion was in full swing), Farid Jan-i Jahan, Ahmad and Alam were given any *Mansab* by Shahjahan. The author of the *Maasir-ul Umara* writes, "Up to the present day none of his descendants have reached an eminent position".[1]

1. *Maasir-ul Umara*, III, 732.

Chapter VIII

THE FAMILY OF ABDULLAH KHAN FIROZ JANG

Khwaja Abdullah, better known by his titles Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, was born in 1575 at Hissar in Transoxiana.[1] He was a descendant of Khwaja Ubaidullah Nasiruddin Ahrar, one of the greatest mystic saints of the Naqshbandi order.[2] The Timuride rulers showed great reverence to the saint, and Babur's father Umar Shaikh Mirza had become his disciple. Babur himself out of a belief that it would relieve him of his illness, put to verse the saints' _Walidiya-i Risala_.[3] After the establishment of Mughal rule in India a number of Khwaja Ahrar's descendants came to this country, relying upon the Mughal emperors' attachment to the saint.[4] As a mark of exceptional favour, the Mughal rulers even married their daughters to certain members of Khwaja Ahrar's family. The first marriage that took place was of a sister of Akbar with Mirza Sharafuddin Husain Ahrari. Later on Mirza Hakim's sister was married to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi, another

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1. _Badshahnama_, II, 402, mentions that the death of Abdullah Khan occurred in the year 1645 at the age of 70 years. Therefore it can be inferred that Abdullah Khan must have born about year 1575. For a biography of Abdullah Khan, see _Z.K._, II, 172-85.

2. _Z.K._, II, 172-73. For a detailed account of Khwaja Ubaidullah Nasiruddin Ahrar, see

3. _Baburnama_ (Beveridge), I, 33 and II, 62.

4. For details of such immigrants, see _Baburnama_ (Beveridge), II, 631; _Akbarnama_, II, 127; _Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh_, III, 150.

descendant of Khwaja Ahrar.[1] Both these officers rose to high position; Mirza Sharafuddin held the charge of Ajmer and Nagaur and rebelled in 1562-63;[2] Khwaja Hasan became Vakil of Mirza Hakim.[3]

Abdullah Khan along with his two brothers Mirza Yadgar and Mirza Barkhurdar came similarly to India, in search of employment in 1592.[4] But we have no information about his early career or even about his family proper. We know only that Amir Sayyid Ashiq, a great scholar and mystic of Samarqand was his great grand-father.[5]

However, after reaching Akbar's court, Abdullah Khan and his brothers entered imperial service. Shortly afterwards Abdullah Khan was despatched to the Deccan to serve under Bashir Khwaja who was closely related to him. He rendered valuable service, but he was not given a high rank consonant with his high lineage and close links with the ruling family.[6] Accordingly in 1595 he joined Prince Salim as an Ahdi.[7] It was

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1. Akbarnama, II, 127-28, 242-43. Also see, Afzal Husain, 'Marriages among Mughal Nobles as an Index of Status and Aristocratic Integration, IHC 1975.
2. Akbarnama, II, 129.
3. Ibid., 242-43.
4. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 12a; Z.K., II, 172-74.
5. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 12a. For a detailed biography of Amir Sayyid Ashiq, see Habib-us Siyar, IV, 35-36.
6. Maasir-i-Jahangiri 12a Takmila, III, 823;
7. Takmila, III, 823; Tuzuk, 11-12.

during this period that Salim rebelled and established himself at Allahabad. As he was one of his early associates, Abdullah Khan was given a rank of 1000 and title of Khan. But soon after his relations with Sharif Khan the *Vakil* of the prince became strained.[1] This led to Abdullah Khan deserting the Prince in 1603, when he rejoined Akbar's service. Through Khwaja Yadgar who remained at the court and was held in great esteem by Akbar, Abdullah Khan was warmly received and given the rank of 1000 and title of Safdar Khan.[2] In 1604, he was given the *jagir* of Kalpi, and his brothers were sent with him.[3]

At the time of Akbar's death, Abdullah Khan was at Kalpi and apparently had no role to play during the accession crisis. But soon after the Jahangir's accession, he came to the court and was confirmed in the rank of 1000. Jahangir however made no secret of his indignation about his earlier defection. The imperial diarist notes, "In the commencement of his service he was an *ahadi* and had risen to the rank of 1000, but without reason had gone to my father's service.... Although I considered it best for my own prosperity that my attendant and people should go into his (Akbar) service, yet this occurred without my leave, and I was rather

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1. *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 14a; *Tuzuk*, 11-12.

2. *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, 18a *Takmila*, III, 823; ___ however, mention that he was given rank of 1500.

3. *Ibid*.

annoyed at it. But the fact is that he is a manly and zealous man; if he had not committed this fault, he would have been a faultless hero (*jawan*)".[1] Apparently on this account, Abdullah Khan was not given promotion in his rank immediately after Jahangir's accession. But shortly afterwards in the same year he was promoted to the rank of 2500/500 and sent back to Kalpi.[2] While he was in Kalpi, he defeated and captured Ram Chand Bundela, son of Raja Madhukar. In 1606 when he came to the court along with Ram Chand, he was promoted to the rank of 3000/2000, married to the daughter of Mirza Sulaiman and appointed Governor of Malwa.[3] During the governorship of Malwa he was again promoted to the rank of 3000/2500 when he foiled the conspiracy of Mirza Badiuzzaman, son of Mirza Shahrukh, who wanted to defeat to Rana Amar Singh along with his supporters.[4]

Abdullah Khan was transferred from Malwa and given the command of the Mewar campaign in 1609. This was a major assignment because two earlier campaigns organised during Jahangir's reign had failed to effect

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1. *Tuzuk*, 11-12.

2. *Ibid.*, 34; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 37a, however mentions that he was promoted to the rank of 2500/2500.

3. *Tuzuk*, 39. *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 39a-40a states that he was promoted to the rank of 4000/4000.

4. *Tuzuk*, 66; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 44b.

very much. He achieved some important victories initially, and to encourage him, Jahangir promoted him to the rank of 5000/5000 and gave him the title of 'Firoz Jang'.[1] But these successes were short lived, as at Rampur, near Kumbhalgarh, he was badly defeated by the armies of Mukund Das and Kunwar Bhim.[2]

After this defeat, he was transferred as governor of Gujarat, to cooperate in the grand campaign against the Nizam Shah. He was promoted to the rank of 6000/6000 and important officers like Raja Ram Das, Khan-i Alam, Ali Mardan Bahadur, Zafar Khan and Sayyid Saif Khan were deputed to serve under him.[3] 2,000 of his <u>sawar</u> rank was converted into <u>du aspa sih aspa</u>.[4] He was ordered to march via Nasik and Trimbak in close cooperation of the other army under the command of Mirza Aziz Koka which had to march through Berar and surprise Malik Ambar. The plan was indeed an ingenous one; nevertheless the prospects of its success depended entirely on the extent the commanders of the two armies cooperated with each other. But as the campaign progressed, both Abdullah Khan and Khan-i Jahan (who was the effective commander in the other army) attempted

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1. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 74-75; <u>Ma'asir-i Jahangiri</u>, 51-52a; <u>Z.K.</u>, II, 173; <u>Vir Vinod</u>, V, 224-25.

2. <u>Vir Vinod</u>, II, 226, The Persian chroniclers have not mentioned this defeat.

3. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 97, 107; <u>Iqbalnama</u>, 57. But promotion to the rank of 6000/6000 had been mentioned by <u>Mirat-i Ahmadi</u>, 189, only.

4. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 97; <u>Iqbalnama</u>, 58; <u>Ma'asir-i Jahangiri</u>, 84b.

to conquer Daulatabad singlehandedly. Abdullah Khan marched on to Daulatabad without informing or knowing of the progress of the other army under Khan-i Jahan, Sharif Khan and Man Singh. Khan-i Jahan and other officers on the pretext that he had not informed them of his movements, seem to have deliberately moved slowly. When the Nizamshahi leader Malik Ambar came to know of such lack of coordination among his opponents, he marched boldly to face Abdullah Khan. Abdullah Khan was outnumbered and compelled to retreat.[1] The author of the Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri and Jahangir in his memors held Abdullah Khan solely responsible for the collapse of the grand offensive.[2] The author of Ma'asir-ul Umara gives an interesting account of Jahangir's reaction to the flight of Abdullah Khan, calling him Gurez Jang (Fugitive from Battle) instead of Firoz Jang (Victorious in Battle).[3]

After the collapse of the grand campaign, Abdullah Khan returned to Gujarat. Shortly afterwards he was ordered to join Khurram in his campaign against the Rana of Mewar.[4]

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1. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 84b. For more details, see chapters on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi' and 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

2. Iqbalnama, 65-67; Tuzuk, 107-108. But Kamgar Husain who was cousin of Abdullah Khan says that Man Singh's unhelpful attitude was the real cause of Abdullah Khan's defeat. Cf. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 84b.

3. Ma'asir-ul Umara, I, 99.

4. Tuzuk, 232-33; Z.K., II 176-82; A Dutch Chronicle, 47; Vir Vinod, II, 230-33, give details of the campaign.

The above survey of the events connected with the career of Abdullah Khan indicates that he was given rapid promotions and important duties as part of Jahangir's endeavour to raise his own nobles to counter Akbarshahis. This was naturally resented by Akbar Shahi nobles, particularly when the Jahangiri nobles had not proved very successful. In a letter addressed to Jahangir Mirza Aziz Koka had strongly condemned his policies in this regard and particularly mentioned the rapid promotions and important duties given to Abdullah Khan even after his successive failures.[1]

It seems that this letter had some effect, because Abdullah Khan's fortune starts declining thereafter. In 1616 on the complaint of Abid Khan _Waqia Navis_ of Gujarat, his _mansab_ and _jagir_ were confiscated and he was summoned to the court leaving his brother Mirza Yadgar as his deputy. When he reached Ajmer, where Jahangir was encamped, he was refused an interview. It appears that Abdullah Khan approach Khurram, and at his intercession, his _mansab_ and _jagir_ were restored. However, he was transferred from the governorship of Gujarat and deputed to accompany Khurram to the Deccan.[2]

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1. For details of the letter of Aziz Koka to Jahangir, see chapter on the Family of Shamsuddin Atka.

2. _Tuzuk_, 162-64; _Ma'asir-i Jahangiri_, 121b. Kamgar states that Abdullah Khan was reappointed governor of Gujarat, but this is not correct because in the same year in his place Muqarrab Khan was made governor of Gujarat. Also see _The Embassy of Sir T. Roe_, 278-79.

He returned to the court along with Khurram in 1617 and was despatched to his *jagir* of Kalpi along with his brothers.[1] While he was at Kalpi in 1618, Abdullah Khan was again punished on a complaint of Abid Khan that during his governorship of Gujarat, he ordered Abid Khan's garden to be cut down. He also ordered a person to be killed in a drinking party. Upon receiving these complaints Jahangir ordered 1000 of his *du aspa sih aspa* to be converted into ordinary *sawar* rank and instructed to deduct from his *jagir* the difference of pay which came to 700,000 *dams*.[2]

Abdullah Khan was not given any important duty between 1617 and 1621 and apparently remained at Kalpi. It is quite significant that the period coincides with the one during which Itimad-ud daulah's family became excessively influential and the fortunes of a number of other important nobles declined.[3] Later events indicate that Abdullah Khan was also not on good terms with Nur Jahan, and might have suffered eclipse through her influence.[4] It seems that Abdullah Khan came close to Khurram, who had helped him when he was in distress. He had also

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1. *Tuzuk*, 196.

2. *Ibid.*, 208.

3. See chapters on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi' and 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

4. *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 161a.

served in Mewar and the Deccan campaigns under Khurram;[1] and in 1621 when Khurram was again despatched to the Deccan, Abdullah Khan along with his brothers accompanied him.[2] But after some time, suddenly without taking Khurram's permission he returned to Kalpi. When the matter was reported to the Emperor, he ordered resumption of his *jagir*, and Itimad Rai was ordered to conduct him to Burhanpur. Once again Khurram came to his rescue. Upon his request Abdullah Khan was not only pardoned, but promoted to the rank of 6000.[3] It appears that he returned to Kalpi shortly afterwards.[4]

Abdullah Khan was summoned to the court in the same year and given command of the Qandhar campaign when Khurram set impossible conditions for taking that command. He presented himself near Lahore, but the campaign was given up, in view of Khurram's rebellion.[5] Abdullah Khan accompanied the Emperor and was given command of the van of the army deputed against Khurram. But Abdullah Khan deserted the imperial army in the middle of the battle of Bilochpur and joined Khurram.[6]

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1. See supra.

2. *Tuzuk*, 330-31; *Iqbalnama*, 181; *De Laet*, 199, and *A Dutch Chronicle*, 55 mix up the two Deccan campaigns led by Khurram.

3. *Tuzuk*, 334, 336; *Iqbalnama*, 186; *A Dutch Chronicle*, 55.

4. Abdullah Khan was summoned from Kalpi, when Khurram refused to take up the Qandhar campaign, see *Tuzuk*, 338-39, *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 157a.

5. *Tuzuk*, 343-44.

6. *Ibid.*, 357-58; Iqbalnama, 202-203; *Ma'asir-i Jahangiri*, 161a;

At this stage it seems important discuss the nature of Khurram's rebellion and the extent of Abdullah Khan's involvement in it. The Dutch chronicle of Jahangir's reign gives an interesting account of the situation: 'Not much remained to be done now as he thought. In five or six years he had amassed much wealth in Gujarat and Burhanpur, his father was far away in Lahore and he was in correspondence with all the dignatories of his father such as Asaf Khan, Abdullah Khan, Khan Khanan and his sons, Lashkar Khan and Bir Singh Deo Bundela and many others'.[1] He further adds that Khurram collected those nobles who were with him and 'made them promise an oath that they would be true to him. He wanted to revolt against his father, and expected that they would not only be not disloyal to him, but gird him with the sword of his father the king. All of them promised this on oath. After this Abdullah Khan went to Kalpi with Shahjahan's permission'.[2]

It would seem that the discontent which was brewing among a section of Jahangiri nobles since the rise of Itimad-ud daulah's family led some of them to lend ears to Khurram's overtures even if they did not ultimately join him. Abdullah Khan who was also one of those nobles "whose heart was full of grievances on account of the indifferent attitude of the Emperor and ill treatment by Nur Jahan"[3] became a secret supporter of Khurram, deserting to his side at a crucial moment.

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1. <u>A Dutch Chronicle</u>, 57.
2. <u>Ibid.</u>, 55.
3. <u>Ma'asir-i Jahangiri</u>, 161a.

However, Abdullah Khan's attitude is rather intriguing; specially his sudden departure from the Deccan without informing Khurram. It might be that Abdullah Khan at first feared to get involved in Khurram's plans, when their success seemed very uncertain. But when after his return to Kalpi, the Emperor punished him, while Khurram came to his rescue;[1] his attitude might then have changed. When he rejoined Khurram in the Deccan he became a party to the conspiracy and returned a second time to Kalpi with some definite understanding as mentioned by the Dutch chronicler.[2] This is corroborated by the Persian sources also if we closely examine the details of the battle of Bilochpur. For example, when Abdullah Khan fled to Khurram's army he was warmly welcomed as most of the commanders knew about his real affiliations.[3] The author of Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, a newphew of Abdullah Khan accepts that Abdullah Khan had made this arrangement with Khurram much before.[4]

Despite Abdullah Khan's defection, Jahangir's troops were victorious at Bilochpur, partly owing to the sudden death of Raja Bikarmajit and the cool strategy of Mahabat Khan.[5] After the defeat, Khurram fled to

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1. See Supra.

2. Ibid.

3. Jahangir in his memoirs states 'I was ignorant of the fact that he (Abdullah Khan) was in league with Bidaulat (Khurram) and the real object of that evil natured one to send news from my army to him'. Cf. Tuzuk, 365.

4. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 161a.

5. Tuzuk, 357-58; Iqbalnama, 201-202. For Mahabat Khan's role, see chapter on 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

Mandu. He appointed Abdullah Khan as his governor of Ahmadabad in place of Raja Bikarmajit. Abdullah Khan, however, accompanied Khurram and despatched Wafadar Khan as his deputy to Ahmadabad.[1]

Shortly after taking over the charge of the suba, Wafadar Khan was defeated and taken prisoner by Mirza Safi, Syed Diler Khan, Nahar Khan and other imperial officers posted in suba of Gujarat.[2] When Abdullah Khan came to know of this, he immediately started for Ahmadabad without making proper arrangements. He headed a small force of 5000 horses. Certain officers of Abdullah Khan like Muhtasib Khan and Sharza Khan also deserted to imperialists. Thus Abdullah Khan was badly handicapped in the battle which ensued near Ahmadabad. He himself was wounded and three thousand of his soldiers were killed.[3]

Abdullah Khan fled from the field and in three days reached Baroch. Himmat Khan's son who was incharge of the fort refused his entry, but gave him 5000 mahmudis. From there he went to Surat and stayed there for two months. After collecting men and material he rejoined Khurram at Burhanpur.[4] Khurram had arrived from Asir shortly

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1. Tuzuk, 361; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 162a; A Dutch Chronicle, 61.
2. Tuzuk, 361-65; Iqbalnama, 207; Mirat-i Ahmadi, I, 1967-98; Z.K., II,
3. For details of Abdullah Khan's defeat, see Tuzuk, 361-65; Iqbalnama, 207-208; Mirat-i Ahmadi, I, 197-98; Z.K., II, 180-82; A Dutch Chronicle, 61-64; Factory Records, 240-41.
4. Tuzuk, 365; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 165a; De Laet, 211.

before, hotly pursued by the imperial army under Parvez and Mahabat Khan. As the river bank was fortified by the rebels, it became difficult for Mahabat Khan to cross the Narbada.[1] Therefore, he resorted to diplomacy and won over Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. The author of Ma'asir-i Jahangiri writes that Khan Khanan persuaded Khurram to start negotiations with Parvez and offered his own services. But Abdullah Khan who was aware of the secret understanding between Mahabat Khan and Khan Khanan opposed this suggestion and said that Khan Khanan's aim was to join the imperialists.[2] The Dutch chronicle not only confirms this but adds, "Khan Khanan who had also bribed Bairam Beg wrote him that he was coming back after making settlement with Parvez and his aim now was to arrest Khurram and hand him over to Parvez".[3] But in the meantime Abdullah Khan came to know of it through his informers; he immediately informed the Prince and advised him to flee. Khurram acting on the advice of Abdullah Khan crossed Tapti and entered the Goalkunda kingdom.[4] During this period a large number of his servants left him.

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1. Tuzuk, 365; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 166b. See also, chapter on 'The Family of Bairam Khan' and 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

2. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 167a, Jahangir however mentions that Bidaulat (Khurram) himself through Sarbuland Rai opened negotiations with Parvez. Tuzuk, 279; Iqbalnama, 211; A Dutch Chronicle, 65-66.

3. A Dutch Chronicle, 66; De Laet, 212 also corroborates it.

4. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 167a; Tuzuk, 279-80; and Iqbalnama, 210-11, however does not mention Abdullah Khan's role.

In these circumstances Khurram decided to march into Orissa and Bengal. Ahmad Beg Khan the governor of Orissa fled to Burdwan and from there to Bengal.[1] Orissa was thus occupied without any resistance. The suba was made over to Muhammad Taqi who was also given the rank of 5000/5000 and Abdullah Khan was appointed Sipah Salar of Khurram's army.[2] Abdullah Khan wrote a letter to Muhammad Salih the faujdar of Burdwan to surrender the fort, but Salih refused. Khurram and Abdullah Khan marched from Cuttack to Burdwan via Midnapore and despatched Darya Khan, Raja Bhim, Sayyid Jafar Barha, Bahadur Khan and Khwaja Sabir, son-in-law of Abdullah Khan, to besiege the fort. Salih thereupon surrendered and Burdwan was given to the charge of 'Khan-i Dauran' Bairam Beg.[3]

Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Bengal, refused all overtures from Khurram. But he was defeated and killed in a battle with Khurram's troops.[4] This victory was considered as a great military achievement of Abdullah Khan. Khurram ordered a portrait of Abdullah Khan riding on a lion with a naked sword in his right hand and severed head of Ibrahim Khan in the left hand to be painted on a standard. Abdullah Khan was promoted

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1. Tuzuk, 382; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 167a. But Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 688-89 gives more details about Khurram's campaign in Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and Allahabad.

2. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 688-89.

3. Ibid.; 689-90; Iqbalnama, 217-18; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 168a; Riyaz-us Salatin, 188.

4. Iqbalnama, 218-20; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 172a-173b; Riyaz-us Salatin, 189-90. But Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 690-94 is more detailed.

by Khurram to the rank of 7000/7000 du aspa sih aspa and given a cash reward of three lacs of rupees.[1]

After making necessary arrangement in Bengal, Khurram despatched Raja Bhim to Patna in advance and himself followed him in the company of Abdullah Khan. Mukhlis Khan the governor of Bihar, fled to Allahabad.[2] Abdullah Khan was given Hajipur and its vicinity along with Darbhanga for his jagirs.[3]

Khurram despatched two separate detachments from Bihar into the suba of Allahabad. Abdullah Khan and Raja Bhim were despatched to Jaunpur and Darya Khan to Manikpur to check the advance of imperial army. On the approach of Abdullah Khan to Jaunapur, Jahangir Quli Khan fled to Allahabad, and Jaunpur fell into the hands of Abdullah Khan.[4] Thereupon Khurram himself started towards Jaunpur and ordered Abdullah Khan to march on to Allahabad.[5]

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1. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 701-702.
2. Iqbalnama, 222; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 174a; Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 711-12.
3. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 718.
4. Ibid.; Z.K., (MS), 77a.
5. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 721; Iqbalnama, 223.

Abdullah Khan laid siege of the fort of Allahabad in September 1624. Khurram tried to win over Mirza Rustam by conciliatory methods, but it did not produce any effect. Abdullah Khan vigorously pressed the siege and as a result Zabardast Khan Deccani, Siyasat Khan and many other nobles came out of the fort and joined him.[1] But in the meantime Darya Khan being defeated at Manikpur by the imperial army under Parvez and Mahabat Khan fled to Jaunpur and misunderstanding arose between Raja Bhim and Abdullah Khan.[2] The former withdrew from Arayal without informing Abdullah Khan. Therefore Abdullah Khan too raised the siege and joined Khurram at Banaras along with Raja Bhim and Darya Khan. Khurram now pitched his camp at Bahadurpur. Khurram also withdrew his forces from Chunar, under Wazir Khan, though the fort seemed about to fall. He also summoned from Bengal 'Manmil, Durjisus and all other Firingis along with their fleets'; these men arrived in very short time.[3]

While these preparations were made at the camp in Bahadurpur, Bairam Beg who was left to defend the river bank at Jhusi was defeated

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1. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 174b; Iqbalnama, 223-24; Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II; 726-31; A Dutch Chronicle, 68.

2. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 732-38; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 178ab, and A Dutch Chronicle, 68, refer to the misunderstanding between Raja Bhim and Abdullah Khan.

3. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 732, 736-37.

and killed by Mahabat Khan.[1] The defeat brought about an adverse effect on the morales of Khurram's army; a number of officers started deserting him.[2] He now consulted Âbdullah Khan and Raja Bhim about his future plans. Abdullah Khan advised him to avoid a pitched battle with the imperial army as it was much superior in numbers. He thought it to be more practical if they proceeded to Delhi via Awadh and surprise it because the royal army with its heavy baggage would not be able to intercept them. But Raja Bhim not only opposed this proposal but threatened to withdraw with his followers if Khurram did not decide upon a straight battle.[3] Khurram succumbed to the pressure of Raja Bhim and ordered his armies to form in battle order near the fort of Kantit. In the battle that was fought on 26th October 1624, Khurram was completely defeated. A large number of his troops perished along with Raja Bhim.[4] According to the author of the Baharistan-i Ghaibi, Khurram was defeated partly because of the treachery of Abdullah Khan who fled from the battle field and partly because of slackness on the part of Darya Khan and the Rajputs who also did not give proper support to Raja Bhim.[5]

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1. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 738.
2. Ibid., 749-50.
3. Iqbalnama, 232; Z.K. (MS), 77a. But Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 753-54 do not mention it.
4. Iqbalnama, 232-33; Z.K. (MS), 77ab; Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 753-62.
5. Baharistan-i Ghaibi, II, 760-61. Also see chapter on 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

After the defeat Khurram proceeded to Rohtas and despatched Abdullah Khan and Darya Khan to Patna. He also summoned Darab Khan with all the forces that he had under his command at Dacca.[1] In the meantime Mahabat Khan crossed the river Son. When this news was conveyed to Khurram, he decided to flee to Bengal, as he had lost confidence in his nobles.[2] In Bengal also he could not get the support of his officers. Darab Khan the governor of the _suba_ was himself besieged by the local chiefs. Therefore after twenty four days' stay in Bengal, Khurram decided to return to the Deccan. But before returning a large number of deserters including Aram Bakhsh son of Darab Khan were killed by Abdullah Khan.[3]

On his arrival to the Deccan, Khurram was warmly received by Malik Ambar. He was provided with a big army and Yaqut Khan Habshi accompanied him to besiege Burhanpur. But they had to raise the siege because of the differences among commanders and the news of the arrival of Parvez and Mahabat Khan.[4] When Khurram left Burhanpur, Abdullah Khan deserted him and became a religious recluse at the village of Indur (Telengana).[5] It seems that Abdullah Khan decided to leave Khurram when

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1. _Iqbalnama_, 238; _Baharistan-i Ghaibi_, II, 763.
2. _Baharistan-i Ghaibi_, II, 771-72.
3. _Iqbalnama_, 238-39; _Maasir-i Jahangiri_, 183ab.
4. _Iqbalnama_, 238-39.
5. _Iqbalnama_, 243-44; _Maasir-i Jahangiri_, 187a; _Z.K._, II, 183.

he realised that his condition was hopeless. Although, he pretended to have left the world, he started writing letters of repentence to Parvez and Khan-i Jahan Lodi. On the promise that he would intercede on his behalf Abdullah Khan came and joined Khan-i Jahan Lodi He was pardoned but it is not known whether he was given any rank by Jahangir.[1]

Abdullah Khan accompanied Khan-i Jahan when he proceeded on an expedition against the Nizam Shahis. While they were marching, a letter written to Abdullah Khan by Khwaja Hissari, father of Khwaja Sabri, son in law of Abdullah Khan who was in the service of Nizam Shahis, was intercepted. The content of the letter indicated that he was planning to join the service of Nizam Shahis. In another letter written to Malik Ambar which was also intercepted, he informed them that Khan-i Jahan had a small force and if they attacked him at this time, Khan-i Jahan would be defeated.[2]

Abdullah Khan was thereupon arrested and handed over to Ikram Khan son of Islam Khan Chishti to be confined in the fort of Asir.[3] During this period several *farmans* on behalf of Mahabat Khan were sent to Khan-i Jahan with orders to blind Abdullah Khan. But Khan-i Jahan refused

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1. *Z.K.*, II, 183.

2. *Ibid.*, 183-84; *A Dutch Chronicle*, 75-76.

3. *Ibid.*

on the plea that Abdullah Khan had surrendered upon promise of safety. However, he promised to bring him to the court at his next visit.[1]

At the time of the accession of Shahjahan, Abdullah Khan was in prison in the fort of Gowalior. But on March 27, 1627 at the request of a distinguished member of the Naqshbandi order Abdur Rahim Khwaja the ambassador of Imam Quli the ruler of Turan, he was pardoned. Abdullah Khan was given the rank of 5000/5000 and Rs.50,000 in <u>inam</u> and <u>sarkar</u> Qanauj in <u>jagir</u>.[2] His son-in-law Khwaja Sabir (the future Khan-i Dauran) who had joined Malik Ambar after Abdullah Khan had left Khurram, was also readmitted into service and given the rank of 3000/2000.[3] Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan a nephew of Abdullah Khan was given the rank of 1000/400.[4]

During the reign of Shahjahan also Abdullah Khan continued to be one of the leading nobles of the Empire. However, on a number of occasions he was punished for certain lapses. After suppressing the rebellion of Khan-i Jahan Lodi he was raised to the rank of 6000/6000 and appointed governor of Bihar in 1632.[5] In 1640 he was removed from the governorship and deputed to subdue the rebels Champat Bundela and Pirthvi Raj. He was given <u>sarkar</u> Islamabad (Mathura) in <u>jagir</u>.[6] During the

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1. <u>Maasir-ul Umara</u>, I, 102.
2. <u>Badshahnama</u>, I, 193-95; <u>Tarikh-i Shahjahani</u>, 7a.
3. <u>Badshahnama</u>, I, 266-67; <u>Maasir-ul Umara</u>, I, pt. II, 750.
4. <u>Badshahnama</u>, I, 319-20.
5. <u>Ibid</u>., 354, 426.
6. <u>Ibid</u>., II, 137.

campaign against the rebels he showed little interest and was even accused for helping Champat to escape. Therefore he was dismissed from service.[1] But in 16th r.y. he was pardoned and appointed governor of Allahabad.[2] In the same year he was again dismissed from service, on the charge of negligence of duty and disobedience and given a subsistance allowance of Rs.100000.[3] In 1643 Abdullah Khan was once again pardoned and his rank was restored; however, no administrative charge was given.[4] He died on Dec. 7, 1644, at the age of 70 years.[5]

The study of Abdullah Khan's career indicates that even the nobles who were shifting in their loyalties, could main-tain their position if they were related to some eminent families of mystics or had qualities of leadership. Abdullah Khan was a descendant of Khwaja Nasiruddin Ahrar, a famous Naqshbandi saint and was a gifted commander.[6] The author of the Zakhirat-ul Khwanin writes that he looked after his soldiers very well. Although the soldiers did not get more than three or four months salary yet compared with the payments made by other nobles, the salary paid by

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1. Badshahnama, I, 195.
2. Ibid., II, 307.
3. Ibid., 332.
4. Ibid., 348.
5. Ibid., 402.
6. See supra.

Abdullah Khan was equal to one year's salary. He further says that whenever he was engaged in an important expedition, he used to march 60 to 70 kms a day. He keept trustworthy soldiers as rear guard and if any one lagged behind, his head was cut off.[1]

However, his relations were not recruited into service in any numbers. His brother Sardar Khan who attained the rank of 3000/2500 seldom held an independent charge. He served under Abdullah Khan and died in 1624.[2] Mirza Wali son of Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi, who was married to the daughter of Danial also could not rise to a higher rank (he held the rank of 2000/1000).[3] Abdullah Khan's two sons Mirza Khan and Abdul Rasul were also not given <u>mansabs</u> during Jahangir's reign. Mirza Khan was arrested and put to death by Jahangir after Abdullah Khan joined Khurram in the battle of Bilochpur.[4] Abdul Rasul was alive during Shahjahan's reign and also served in the Deccan, but his rank is not known[5] so that it is likely that it was less than 500 <u>zat</u>. It is significant that in his life time many of Abdullah Khan's own servants after leaving him

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1. <u>Z.K.</u>, II, 184-85.
2. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 76, 117, 158-59, 344; <u>Maasir-i Jahangiri</u>, 141b, 153a, 155a.
3. <u>Tuzuk</u>, 283, 344.
4. <u>A Dutch Chronicle</u>, 65.
5. <u>Maasir-ul Umara</u>, I, 101-102.

and joining imperial service, 'rose to the rank of 5000 and 4000'.[1] However, during the reign of Shahjahan his son-in-law Khan-i Dauran attained the rank of 7000/7000, 5000 2h-3h and held the governorship of the Deccan.[2] Ghairat Khan son of Sardar Khan was also promoted to the rank of 3000/2000 and appointed governor of Delhi in 1638.[3]

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1. Following nobles are mentioned in Zakhirat-ul Khwanin who were previously in the service of Abdullah Khan.

(i)	Safdar Khan	(Z.K., III, 40)
(ii)	Yusuf Muhammad Khan	(Ibid., 42)
(iii)	Shadi Khan Uzbek	(Ibid., 59)
(iv)	Umar Khan Tarni	(Ibid., 72)
(v)	Yaulam Bahadur Uzbek	(Ibid., 90)
(vi)	Nazar Bahadur Uzbek	(Ibid., 90)

2. Badshahnama, II, 376-77.

3. Ibid., I, 352, 398, II, 198, 225, 338.

Chapter IX

THE FAMILY OF MAHABAT KHAN

Mahabat Khan became one of the most powerful and influential nobles of Jahangir, although he did not possess a large clan or following within the nobility. His rise to a high position immediately after Jahangir's accession was the result of his old association with Jahangir while he was prince. Later on his relations were strained with both the imperial factions, the Turanis and the Iranis (although he was himself of Iranis descent). He was able not only to maintain his own position but was called upon to suppress the rebellion of Khurram. Later on when he became the target of machinations of Nurjahan and Asaf Khan, he carried out a coup d'etat and obtained control of the person of the emperor in his camp.

During the last years of Jahangir at least he seems to have enjoyed the support of many Rajputs and Indian Muslims (particularly Afghans). Mahabat Khan himself said that his strength lay in the Rajputs. Of his 6000 retainers, 4000 were Rajputs and the remainder consisted of Sayyids, Shaikhs, Mughals and Afghans.[1] According to the

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1. Z.K., II, 132; Kami Shirazi, Fath Nama-i Nurjahan Begum (Rotograph copy), Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, MS, iii, 187-4, 506; fol.22b however does not include Sayyids, Shaikhs and Mughals among his retainers.

author of the Fathnama-i Nurjahan Begum, Mahabat Khan recruited only Rajputs and Afghans; he claimed that if ten Rajputs were on one side and a hundred Mughals on the other, the Rajputs would emerge victorious.[1] But except for a very vague statement that he had the cooperation of Sisodia Rajputs, it is difficult to discover which particular clan of Rajputs were especially attached to him. Besides, no important Rajput noble has been specially mentioned among his associates. Sarbuland Rai of Bundi seems, however, to have obtained his confidence.[2] His links with the Afghans may be explained by his own association with Kabul. Mahabat Khan's relations with Indian Muslims were of special nature. He took a wife from a family of the Khanzadas of Mewat. But we do not come across any prominent Afghan or Indian Muslim noble among his friends and allies.[3]

It is a matter of enquiry why he should have become hostile to the Turanis and the Iranis and friendly with the Rajputs and Indian Muslims. About the Turanis it might be suggested that as he was an Irani, the hostility might have been of a factional nature. But as he

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1. Fath Nama-i Nurjahan Begum, 27a.

2. Z.K., II, 132, refers that Rana of Mewar helped him when he was dismissed from the governorship of Bengal and was going to the court. Mahabat Khan made Sarbuland Rai (Rao Ratan Hara) incharge of the Deccan while proceeding to east against Khurram. See Iqbalnama, 224; Z.K., II, 125-26.

3. Z.K., III, 95-97.

was equally unfriendly towards the Iranis, this needs explanation. Apparently his hostility towards the Iranis was actuated by his suspicions against the family of Itimad-ud daulah. This house had become a very powerful and also might have been considered the nucleus of the Iranis.

Mahabat Khan's father Ghaiyur Beg was a Rizvi Sayyid of Shiraz. He came to Kabul in his youth and entered Mirza Hakim's service. After the death of Mirza Hakim, Ghaiyur Beg came to India and joined Akbar's service;[1] but he could not rise to a high position and apparently failed to get a mansab. On that account, it appears his son Zaman Beg entered the service of Prince Salim as an ahadi. Salim was highly impressed by his loyalty and devotion, and gave him the rank of 500 and the office of the Bakhshi of Shagird Pesha.[2] Zaman Beg remained loyal to him even during the period that the Prince was at Allahabad defying his father, and many of his followers had left him. Upon Salim's

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1. Tuzuk, 10, refers only to the name of Zaman Beg's father. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 28b; Z.K., II, 116-17. Although the author of Zakhirat-ul Khawanin had not discussed the circumstances which led Ghaiyur Beg to migrate from Shiraz, the religious persecution in Iran might have been an important reason because Mahabat Khan was a Sunni in his earlier life. For a detailed discussion on this aspect, see Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani Elements in Akbar's Nobility', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1975.

2. Tuzuk, 10

instructions he killed Raja Ujjainia who had come to see the Prince at the head of a large force.[1]

After the accession of Jahangir, Mahabat Khan was raised to the rank of 1500, along with other nobles who were Jahangir's supporters at the accession crisis or his personal servants.[2] He was deputed to pursue Khusrau when he rebelled, along with Shaikh Farid Bukhari and other nobles. It was decided that if Khusrau decided to go to Kabul, Emperor himself would follow him and if the prince fled to Badakhshan, the emperor would return to India leaving Mahabat Khan at Kabul to defend it from the joint forces of Khusrau and the Uzbeks.[3]

During the campaign against Khusrau, differences arose among the nobles. Mahabat Khan and Sharif Khan Amir-ul Umara complained that Shaikh Farid was deliberately marching slowly allowing him time to escape; otherwise, Khusrau could have been brought to bay. Jahangir accepted their version and Shaikh Farid was reprimanded.[4] This incident

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1. Z.K., II, 117. Manucci believes that this was the main reason of the rise of Mahabat Khan. Niccolao Manucci, Storia do Mogor, ed. and tr. William Irvin, London, 1907, Vol. I, 166-67.

2. Tuzuk, 10. For details of promotions being given to other Jahangiri nobles, see Appendix A.

3. Tuzuk, 30-31. Jahangir anticipated an alliance between Khusrau and the Uzbeks.

4. Tuzuk, 31; Iqbalnama, 9-10.

may be treated as an example of tension between the old Akbarshahi nobility of which Shaikh Farid was the representative, and the Jahangiri nobles.

After the defeat of Khusrau, he was handed over to the custody of Mahbbat Khan as a mark of great confidence in him.[1] Mahabat Khan was also promoted twice in the same year raising him to the rank of 2500/1300.[2] While returning from Kabul, the pargana of Mahaban was given to him in jagir.[3] About this time a conspiracy against Jahangir was hatched by some followers of Khusrau and a section of the nobles. Among others a younger brother of Mahabat Khan was involved. But the conspiracy was detected and those involved in it were very severely punished. Mahabat Khan's brother was also ordered to be hanged. When Mahabat Khan reached there, his brother was yet alive and was crying. Jahangir, who recognised Mahabat Khan's brother, asked Mahabat Khan whether he was his brother?; and added that if he wanted his brother's life to be spared, he might himself take him down from the gallows. Mahabat Khan went to his brother, took out his sword and cut off his head. The author of Tarikh-i Khan Jahani writes that after this incident Mahabat Khan became a great confidant of the Emperor.[4]

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1. A Dutch Chronicle, 39.
2. Tuzuk, 37.
3. Ibid.
4. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 691-92. But Tuzuk, 58-59, and Iqbalnama, 27-29, do not mention this incident.

The first important assignment given to Mahabat Khan was the campaign against the Rana of Mewar in 1608. Besides being promoted to the rank of 3000/2500, 12000 troopers and important commanders like Bir Singh Deo Bundela, Zafar Khan, Shuja'at Khan, Narain Das, Mankali Khan and Hizabr Khan were also despatched with him.[1] Significantly most of these nobles belonged to the category of Jahangiri nobles. The campaign, however, was not very successful and he was summoned to court in 1609. Jahangir does not record the failure of the campaign, but says vaguely that he was called to the court to arrange certain matters.[2]

Soon after his coming back from Mewar, he was despatched to the Deccan to bring Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan who was relieved of the Deccan command at the request of Khan-i Jahan Lodi. Besides this he was also asked to find out the strength of the forces of the mansabdars stationed in the Deccan. He returned to the court along with Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan in 1610.[3]

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1. Tuzuk, 69-70; Iqbalnama, 34; A Dutch Chronicle, 43-44. Also see chapter on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

2. Tuzuk, 74; A Dutch Chronicle, 44, writes that Mahabat Khan conquered a very small portion of the country of Rana. But the author of Maasir-i Jahangiri, 48ab clearly states that as he could not do this service successfully, Abdullah Khan was given the command. Z.K., III, 117; Vir Vinod, V, 224-25. For more details, also see chapter on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

3. Tuzuk, 86; Iqbalnama, 54-55; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 57a.

In 1610, as the Deccan campaign under Khan-i Jahan too did not achieve any success, Jahangir appointed Mirza Aziz Koka as the supreme commander in his place. Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 4000/3500 and ordered to conduct Mirza Aziz Koka and the army appointed with him to Burhanpur. He was also asked to enquire into the circumstances leading to the defeat of the imperial forces. It was further added that he should inform to the nobles posted in that region about the appointment of Mirza Aziz Koka and instruct them to cooperate with him. He was then asked to come back to the court. He reached Agra in the last month of 1611.[1]

During the next two years Mahabat Khan was not given an important duty. He remained at the court during these years. He was given promotion during the new years celebration of 7th regnal year and assigned in _jagir_ the territory previouslyheld in (ordinary) _jagir_ and _vatan_ of Raja Jagman who had failed in his duty in the Deccan in 1613.[2] In 1614 Mahabat Khan was sent to Udaipur to bring to the court Mirza Aziz Koka who had been dismissed from service on account of his alleged treacherous role in the Mewar campaign.[3] He returned to Ajmer,

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1. _Tuzuk_, 88-89.

2. _Ibid._, 106. There is some confusion in regard to the noting of _mansabs_. In the account of 1611, while mentioning Mahabat Khan's promotion by 1000/1000, his _mansab_ is recorded as 4000/3500, although the previous rank held by him was 2500/1300. In 1613 after a promotion of 500 _sawar_ his rank is again recorded as 4000/3500.

3. See chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka' for details.

where Jahangir was camping, along with Mirza Aziz and his son Mirza Abdullah.[1] When he reached Ajmer, he was asked to take custody of the person of Ahmad Beg Khan who had been imprisoned at the complaint of Qulich Khan; the prisoner was to be confined in the fort of Ranthambor which was in Mahabat Khan's _jagir_.[2]

In 1615 Mahabat Khan was appointed to serve in the Deccan and posted there along with Khan-i Jahan Lodi. At this juncture 1700 of his _sawar_ rank was converted into _do-aspa sih-aspa_.[3] We have no information about his activities in the Deccan during the period that he was apparently posted there. The next reference about him in the _Tuzuk_ relates to the year 1617. Jahangir writes that Mahabat Khan had been given a special _do-aspa sih-aspa_ rank (involving additional cavalry and corresponding pay) on condition of service in the Deccan. Since he did not perform this service, the rank was withdrawn and his _jagirs_ correspondingly reduced.[4]

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1. _Tuzuk_, 126-27; _Iqbalnama_, 74.

2. _Tuzuk_, 136.

3. _Ibid._, 148; _Z.K._, II, 117, but does not mention about _do-aspa sih-aspa_ rank being given to him. _A Dutch Chronicle_, 47, states that after the collapse of the 'grand offensive', Jahangir appointed Mahabat Khan as 'governor-general of Burhampur and Barar'. Also see De Laet, 188-89.

4. _Tuzuk_, 190.

The information contained in the Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri for the same period is slightly different, but it helps us to understand the causes of the resumption of his do-aspa sih-aspa rank. Mutamid Khan states that when Khurram was appointed to the Deccan, and Parvez was transferred to Allahabad, Mahabat Khan was despatched to Burhanpur to conduct Parvez to Allahabad after collecting the revenues.[1] Mutamid Khan does not mention that Mahabat Khan was appointed to serve in the Deccan. But if we combine the two statements, it would mean that though he was despatched to the Deccan for service, after the transfer of Parvez, he went to Allahabad. Since he thereafter returned to the Deccan, it is possible that Khurram expressed some dissatisfaction with the service performed by him, leading to the withdrawal of the special rank.

Mahabat Khan was among those who returned with Khurram to the court in 1617. He was now appointed governor of Kabul.[2] The author of Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, writes that this appointment was on account of the influence of Shahjahan and the family of Itimad-ud daulah with whom his relations were strained. It was arranged that Mahabat Khan be sent to a distant province. Mahabat Khan is said to have been so resentful at this appointment that he toyed with the idea of fleeing to

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1. Iqbalnama, 92, but neither he gives reference to the assignment of the do-aspa sih-aspa rank nor its withdrawal.

2. Tuzuk, 196; Z.K., II, 117.

Iran, after he had reached Kabul. 'But his son Khanazad Khan cleverly managed to scare away his men and he had to give up the idea'.[1] From the Tuzuk also it is evident that Mahabat Khan was no longer in much favour. He was prevented from coming to the court from Kabul for a very long time. In the account of 14th regnal year while permitting Mahabat Khan to come to the court Jahangir writes, 'As Mahabat Khan had been prevented from the good fortune of coming before me for a long time I ordered at his request that if he was satisfied with the order of affairs and was not troubled with regard to any occurrence, he should leave his force at their posts (thanas) and come to court unattended'.[2] It is quite interesting to note that Khan-i Jahan Lodi was also summoned to court in 1617; and that he remained there without any important duty being given to him until his posting to Multan in 1620.[3] An anecdote mentioned in the Intekhab-i Jahangir Shahi, a source of doubtful authenticity, recounts that as the influence of Nurjahan had attained such proportions that the entire management of the Empire was entrusted to her, Mahabat Khan in the presence of Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Khan-i Alam complained to the Emperor against this state of affairs. He also pleaded for the release of Khusrau from confinement, and the entrusting

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1. Z.K., II, 117.
2. Tuzuk, 287-88; Iqbalnama, 134.
3. Cf. chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

of his person to a trusty noble, since the safety of the Emperor and the peace of the Empire depended on the life of Khusrau. Both Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Khan-i Alam agreed with these sentiments. Jahangir therefore next day entrusted Khusrau to Khan-i Jahan Lodi, with permission to the Prince to pay his respect at the court. An order for the treatment of his eyes was also issued. For a few days after the representation of Mahabat Khan, Jahangir remained reserved in his demeanour towards the Empress; but when Mahabat Khan left the court at Pakli, the Emperor again fell under the control of Nurjahan.[1]

From the information available in our sources, it appears that the anecdote has some factual basis. The event could have occurred in 1619-1620. During this period Jahangir proceeded to Kashmir, accompanied by Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Khan-i Alam, and Mahabat Khan also came to the court from Kabul and accompanied him up to Pakli.[2] Khusrau was indeed released and permitted to come to

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1. Intekhab-i Jahangir Shahi (Rotograph copy) B.M. Or 1648, 320-322; Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VI, 451-52; Nurul Hasan, 'The Theory of Nurjahan Junta - a critical Examination', Indian History Congress 1958, 325-35. He does not consider the information reliable on the ground of the 'extreme unlikelihood of a noble complaining to Jahangir about Nurjahan in 1620'. But we have the example of Mirza Aziz Koka who criticised Jahangir in no less harsh terms. See chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.

2. Tuzuk, 287-89; Iqbalnama, 134-35.

pay his respects at this time,[1] and from a statement in the Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, it transpires that Khusrau, Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Khan-i Alam rode one stage behind the Emperor during the march to Kashmir, it appears thatpossibly Khan-i Jahan Lodi might have been entrusted with the custody of Khusrau's person.[2] Mahabat Khan was in fact given permission to go to Kabul from Pakli, just as is recorded in the Intikhab-i Jahangirshahi.[3]

In the light of the evidence of Intekhab-i Jahangirshahi and other informations discussed above, it is quite clear that the family of Itimad-ud daulah had become very influential around 1616 and 1617. As the family had matrimonial relations with Khurram, it might have utilised the opportunity of the reverses of Mughal forces in the Deccan under Parvez to further build up Khurram's position.[4] As a result of the appointment of Khurram in the Deccan, the career of

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1. Tuzuk, 280, while Jahangir was at Brindaban in 1619, Khusrau was released from confinement and permitted to come and pay his respect at the court. Iqbalnama, 129-30. According to Mutamid Khan, Mirza Aziz Koka asked Jadrup Gosain to pray for Khusrau's release. Tawarikh-i Jahangir Shahi, 406ab. Wali Sarhindi writing in 1619 praises the sons of the Emperor starting with Khusrau. His account certainly goes against the possibility of Khusrau being in confinement at that time.

2. Iqbalnama, 128, 138.

3. Ibid., 121, 135, 137.

4. For the campaigns in the Deccan under Parvez, see chapters on 'The Family of Bairam Khan' and 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi

Parvez and certain nobles was adversely affected. Although after the transfer of Parvez to Allahabad, Mahabat Khan, Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan served under Khurram, but the relations of Mahabat Khan and Khan-i Jahan Lodi remained strained.[1] Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan who was also an open supporter of Parvez appears to have changed sides and became now a partisan of Khurram,[2] but Mahabat Khan and Khan-i Jahan Lodi were summoned to court shortly afterwards. The reason for their recall might have been Khurram's suspicions towards them because Khan-i Jahan Lodi had openly criticised Khurram's appointment in the Deccan in place of Parvez.[3] Regarding Mahabat Khan, although there are no references to show at this stage that he favoured parvez, his hostility to Itimaduddaula's family may be assumed from the attitude he was openly to adopt later on. He could then well have have pleaded for the release of Khusrau as suggested by the <u>Intikhab-i Jahangirshahi</u>.

This, however, need not mean that the Mughal court was divided into two groups, 'the adherents of the Nurjahan Junta and their opponents' as concluded by Beni Prasad.[4] There is no denying

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1. See Supra.

2. See chapters on 'The Family of Bairam Khan' and 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

3. For details see chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

4. <u>History of Jahangir</u>, 177-79.

that the family of Itimad-ud daula had become quite influential, and as a result of its machinations, Mahabat Khan and Khan-i Jahan Lodi were sent to distant provinces, and Mahabat Khan was not given promotion in his rank for a very long time.[1] But there is no evidence that the critics of Itimaduddaula's family were united among themselves so as to form a group. For example, Mahabat Khan, Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Abdullah Khan were themselves greatly hostile to each other.[2] On the other hand, the family of Itimad-ud daula itself from 1620 onwards was divided, Nurjahan and Asaf Khan pulling in apparently different directions.[3] As a matter of fact we hardly come across a family group with permanent loyalties; their attitude and the attitude of even individual nobles was determined from the point of view of their own personal interests.

During the period of Mahabat Khan's governorship of Kabul when apparently he was not on good terms with the 'court party', his

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1. Nurul Hasan in his 'The Theory of Nurjahan Junta', 329-30 had tried to explain that Mahabat Khan was not treated unfavourably. But as a matter of fact his mansab was not raised beyond 4000/3500 after 1612. He was given 1700 <u>do-aspa sih-aspa</u> at the time of his appointment to the Deccan, but the rank was withdrawn on the charge that he did not perform this service'. In 1617 he was sent to Kabul. Mahabat Khan was so much unhappy on this appointment that he wanted to go to Iran. See Supra for more details.

2. See chapters on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi' and 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

3. See Infra.

son Amanullah got considerable promotions. In 1618 he was promoted to the rank of 1000/300 and in the following year to the rank of 1500/800. In 1620 when Mahabat Khan returned to Kabul from his visit to the court, Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500.[1] These promotions are quite significant because during the same period Mahabat Khan himself was not given any increase in rank.

The further rise of the family of Itimaduddaula and the prestige which it gained, because of its close links with Khurram were seriously jeopardized during the years 1619 and 1620. Some very significant developments like the release of Khusrau,[2] Shaharyar's marriage with Ladli Begum,[3] the departure of Khusrau under the custody of Khurram[4] and promotion of Parvez to the rank of 20,000/10,000,[5] took place which not only divided the family of Itimaduddaula into two groups but also initiated a serious political crisis in the Empire.

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1. Tuzuk, 248, 274, 344.
2. Khusrau was released in 1619 when Jahangir was at Brindaban on way to Kashmir. Tuzuk, 280; Iqbalnama, 129-30.
3. Shaharyar was married to Ladli Begum in 1620. Tuzuk, 320; Iqbalnama, 171.
4. Iqbalnama, 189.
5. Tuzuk, 267.

If we go through the details of these events in the sources, it would appear that the rising power of Khurram was alarming both the supporters of Khusrau, the followers of Nur Jahan, and, quite possibly, nobles directly loyal to the Emperor himself. It also appears that along with Nur Jahan, the Emperor himself became a party (as he might have become apprehensive) of his over-ambitious son (Khurram) on account of his ill-health). Thus with this intention Khusrau was released, probably because of his popularity in the nobility, and his having support of some of the most influential nobles like Mirza Aziz Koka, the Kachhwahas and Mahabat Khan. There was indeed a rumour reaching English factors that Nur Jahan wanted to marry her daughter to Khusrau.[1]

Moreover, even after the marriage of Ladli Begum with Shaharyar, Khurram before leaving for the Deccan demanded that Khusrau be placed in his custody.[2] This would mean that Nur Jahan's attitude towards Khusrau had either changed or that she was in no position to oppose Khusrau's physical removal at this time, owing to Khurram's bargaining power on account of the fortunes of war in the Deccan.

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1. T. Roe (117-9-1619) 407. Cf. Della Valle, 56-57, states that Nur Jahan repeatedly offered her daughter in marriage to Khusrau, but he rejected the offer. In despair she gave her daughter to Shaharyar. English Factories, I, 122. Also see Iqbalnama, 171.

2. Iqbalnama, 194.

Nur Jahan no doubt started making efforts to build up the position of Shaharyar after Khusrau's murder; and in these efforts Jahangir also appears to have helped her. Jahangir at the new year's celebrations (March 1621) while promoting Shaharyar to the rank of 8000/4000 states 'it is hoped that in the shadow of my education and in carrying out my pleasure he may reach the extreme of life and prosperity'.[1] He was also given the command of the proposed campaign of Qandhar in the following year and further raised to the rank of 12000/8000.[2] During the same period Parvez visited the court only once, that too on his own without being summoned. Although Jahangir showed him great favour, he was not given promotion in his rank nor given an important assignment by transfer from the _subadari_ of Bihar.[3]

It is not known that what was the attitude of Mahabat Khan _vis a vis_ Prince Shaharyar ; but his relations with Nur Jahan seem to have improved. In 1622 when Mahabat Khan came to the court he was very warmly received and was referred to as _Rukn-us saltanat_. Mahabat Khan brought with him a physician called Hakim Mumnia for the

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1. _Tuzuk_, 326-27; _Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri_, 144a -

2. _Tuzuk_, 347; _Iqbalnama_, 194-95; _Ma'asir-i Jahangiri_, 153b-54a. _English Factories_ (1622-23), 94.

3. _Tuzuk_, 335-36.

treatment of the Emperor. Mutamid Khan writes that when the Emperor started recovering from his illness, Mahabat Khan was given leave to go to Kabul. During the same period his son Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 2000/1800.[1]

In 1622, when Khurram rebelled, Mahabat Khan whose relations were hostile to the faction supporting Khurram, more particularly after the murder of Khusrau, was summoned to the court. It is significant that the summons should have been sent by Nur Jahan.[2] This would have been very unlikely if Mahabat Khan had any reservations about the Empress herself. However, before coming to the court, he wrote that he would come only after Asaf Khan who was in league with Khurram was transferred to Bengal and Mutamid Khan, another partisan of the prince, was punished.[3] Being assured of these actions to be taken against them, Mahabat Khan came to the court. Immediately after reaching the court, he brought to the notice of the Emperor the existence of a party of nobles who were in treacherous correspondence with the rebel prince, its ring leaders being Muhtarim Khan, Mutamid Khan

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1. Tuzuk, 343-44; Iqbalnama, 191-92.

2. Iqbalnama,195; Badshahnama, II, 24. Cf. Tuzuk, 348.

3. Iqbalnama, 195; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 156ab; Ahwal-i Shahzadgi-i Shahjahan Padshah, 18b-19b.

and certain other nobles.[1] Mutamid Khan adds that Mahabat Khan suggested that Mutamid Khan be despatched to Kabul where his agents would execute him. Asaf Khan was also despatched to Agra on account of the wishes of Mahabat Khan, and if European accounts are to be believed, Asaf Khan was held in custody by the King.[2] Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 6000/5000 and given command of the army against Khurram. His son Amanullah was promoted to the rank of 3000/1800.[3]

A battle between the imperial army and the rebels was fought at Bilochpur.[4] The author of the Ma'asir-i Jahangiri writes that when Mahabat Khan noticed that the rebel forces were in commanding position he took recourse to stratagem and through deceitful words convinced Qazi Abdul Aziz that if Shahjahan accepted the royal order and turned back towards the Deccan, he would undertake the confirmation of his jagirs and send the sanads of those mahals furnished with Uzuk

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1. Iqbalnama, 199; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 158b. Others who were involved were Khalil Beg Zulqadar and Nuruddin Quli. According to Kamgar Husaini, Mutamid Khan was sent to Thatta. English Factory Records, 1622-23, 197.

2. Iqbalnama, 195, 197, 199; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 157b; Della Valle, 121.

3. Tuzuk, 347-48; the Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 156ab states that he was given the rank of 6000/6000. Z.K., II, 11 8. De Laet, 205 writes that the command was given to Prince Shaharyar.

4. Tuzuk, 357-58; Iqbalnama, 202; A Dutch Chronicle, 59. For details, see chapter on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

seal. *When this message was communicated to Shahjahan through* Qazi Abdul Aziz, although he had no faith in Mahabat Khan, yet as an opportunity of reconciliation was now provided, he turned towards the Deccan. But when Khurram crossed Ghati Chanda, Mahabat Khan threw the proposal over board and persuaded the Emperor to proceed up to Ajmer and depute an army under the command of Parvez and himself as his ataliq to pursue the rebels.[1]

After marching from Bilochpur, Shahjahan took shelter in the fort of Mandu. When he heard the approach of Parvez and Mahabat Khan, he came out to fight. But the rebels were demoralised on account of dissension encouraged by Mahabat Khan and the defeat of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang in Gujarat.[2] Having no alternative left, Shahjahan opened negotiations with Parvez and Mahabat Khan. But Parvez and Mahabat Khan communicated that there could be no peace until Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan came in person to represent. Shahjahan

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1. Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 161ab-162a. But Tuzuk, 356-59 and Iqbalnama, 204, do not mention this understanding being reached between Khurram and the imperialists.

2. Barqandaz Khan with the entire artillery deserted Shahjahan, and he was followed by Muhammad Murad Bakhsh, Rustam Khan and others. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan also opened negotiations with Mahabat Khan and one of his letters written to him was intercepted by Shahjahan's men. Abdur Rahim and his sons were taken prisoners. For details, see Iqbalnama, 209-10; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 194ab and chapter on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

had no faith in Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan as he was already in correspondence with Mahabat Khan but was forced to send him under the circumstances. Mahabat Khan was not serious about concluding a peace treaty; his main concern was to isolate Shahjahan. Hence no sooner than Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan left Shahjahan's camp and when he had not even reached the southern bank of the Narbada, some imperialists, taking advantage of the carelessness of the enemy, owing to the peace moves, crossed the river and fell upon the rebels. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and a number of other nobles who were weavering in their loyalty to Shahjahan joined Parvez. This was a great blow, and Shahjahan fled to Golkunda and from there escaped to Orissa and Bengal.[1]

After the departure of the rebels, Mahabat Khan started making arrangements for the settlement of the Deccan affairs. Malik Ambar offered his submission and requested that the Deccan affairs be given to his charge. His main motive behind this move was to attack Adil Shah with the help of the Mughals. But Mahabat Khan preferred an alliance with Adil Shah who also accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals and despatched his Vakil Mulla Muhammad Lari with 5000 horses to serve the imperial army posted in the Deccan.[2]

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1. For details, see chapter on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.
2. Iqbalnama, 223-25; Z.K., I, 119-21; Anfaul Akhbar (Asafiya),223-28.

While these negotiations were in progress, a farman was issued ordering Parvez and Mahabat Khan to proceed to Allahabad to check the advance of the rebels if the governor of Bengal and Bihar failed to counter them. On receiving this order, Mahabat Khan appointed Sarbuland Rai (Rao Ratan Hara), one of his confidants, to take charge of the Deccan and himself proceed towards the north along with Parvez.[1]

In the meantime, Shahjahan had marched through Orissa, Bengal and Bihar and laid siege to the fort of Allahabad. But when they came to know of the approach of Mahabat Khan, Shahjahan's troops raised the siege, and a decisive battle was fought on the bank of Tons. The imperial army defeated Shahjahan who fled to Bengal and from there to the Deccan. After this victory Mahabat Khan was given the title of 'Khan Khanan', promoted to the rank of 7000/7000 2h-3h and made governor of Bengal.[2] When he reached Bengal, Darab Khan son of Abdur Rahim who was appointed governor of Bengal by Shahjahan but presently was in the custody of the zamindar was produced before him. On the orders of the Emperor, Darab Khan was executed. Mahabat Khan sent the head of Darab Khan to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan who was in his custody as a present.[3]

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1. Iqbalnama, 224-28; Anfaul Akhbar (Asafiya), 229-30; Z.K., II, 118-20.
2. Iqbalnama, 232-33, 239; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 180a records the promotion in his rank. He adds that Bengal/given to Mahabat Khan and his son in jagir in lieu of their salary. Z.K., II, 122-24.
3. For details see chapter on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang'.

During the absence of Parvez and Mahabat Khan situation in the Deccan again became alarming. Malik Ambar showing great zeal and energy gained the greatest victory of his life. He was successful in defeating the combined forces of the Adil Shahis and the Mughals at Bhatodi. He occupied the whole of Balaghat and laid siege to Ahmadnagar and Burhanpur. With the arrival of Shahjahan, the situation further aggravated.[1] Hence Jahangir issued a farman to Parvez and Mahabat Khan to proceed immediately to the reliefs of Mughal forces in the Deccan. At the request of Mahabat Khan, his son Khanazad Khan was also summoned from Kabul and despatched to help his father.[2]

When Mahabat Khan along with Parvez reached Sarangpur on their way to the Deccan, Fidai Khan arrived with an imperial farman, with the order of Mahabat Khan's transfer to Bengal and Khan-i Jahan's appointment as the ataliq of Parvez. But Parvez did not agree to this arrangement and refused to relieve Mahabat Khan and accept Khan-i Jahan as his substitute. On this, another farman was issued which ordered Parvez to obey imperial orders, adding that if Mahabat Khan was not willing to go to Bengal, he should come to the court .

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1. Iqbalnama, 234-38; Z.K., II, 125-29. See also chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan Lodi'.

2. Iqbalnama, 239; Z.K., II, 130. A Dutch Chronicle, 71 states that Khanazad Khan was also promoted to the rank of 5000 at this juncture.

leaving Khanazad Khan as his deputy in Bengal. Mahabat Khan was charged of appropriating huge amount of money at the time of the transfer of jagirs of the imperial servants and of withholding elephants which were captured in Bengal.[1] Shortly afterwards Arab Dast Ghaib was also despatched to bring him to the court.[2]

Mahabat Khan, accepting the imperial order left Burhanpur for the court. Parvez accompanied him up to Sarai Bahari. Mahabat Khan wanted to take with him some of the mansabdars and trusted servants of the prince, but Fazil Khan, the diwan of the Deccan, said that as he had incurred imperial displeasure and was ordered to come alone, it would be advisable if no one accompanied him. Mahabat Khan agreed but said that this plan of separating him (from Parvez) was actually aimed against the prince, and grave consequences would

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1. Iqbalnama, 245-248; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 187b; Z.K., II, 131. A Dutch Chronicle, 74 gives an altogether different version to this event. 'Mahabat Khan suspected that Khan Khanan (who was summoned to court from his custody) was trying to bring about his ruin and a misunderstanding arose between Mahabat Khan and the followers of Sultan Parvez which led prince acting on bad advice to ask the king to recall Mahabat Khan. The King did so at the instigation of Nur Jahan, her brother Asaf Khan, Khan Khanan and other Chaghtai enemies (of Mahabat Khan)'. But this is not corroborated by any other evidence.

2. Iqbalnama, 248; Z.K., II, 131.

flow from this.[1]

It is quite interesting to note that Mahabat Khan was summoned to the court and a plan to arrest him subsequently was made jointly by Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan though during the years 1620-22 both had been in a different camps.[2] After the murder of Khusrau and the rebellion of Khurram, Nur Jahan's efforts were directed in raising Shaharyar to the status of an heir to the throne. As already discussed in the beginning, Jahangir appears to have made no objections and even gave Shahryar promotions in rank and important military commands, because he was not satisfied with the performance of Parvez.[3] But it seems Mahabat Khan was opposed to Shahryar and after the arrival of Parvez, it was at his suggestion, Parvez was given the command against Khurram.[4] When Nur Jahan realised that the rebels were completely subjugated, and the need for a military commander

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1. Z.K., II, 131; Cf. A Dutch Chronicle, 74. According to Inayat Ali Zaidi, "Soon after Khurram's defeat Jai Singh along with Parvez and Mahabat Khan returned to the Deccan. Meanwhile, it seems, Mahabat Khan had fallen out with Nur Jahan and came to be suspected by her of harbouring sympathies of Khurram". But there is no evidence to show that Mahabat Khan was having any relation with Khurram at this stage. Inayat Ali Zaidi had also not cited any source in support of his argument. Cf. 'The Political Role of Kachhwaha Nobles during Jahangir's Reign', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1975.

2. See Supra.

3. See Supra.

4. See Supra.

like Mahabat Khan receded, she planned to isolate Parvez. For this the best course as mentioned by Mahabat Khan himself was to separate Mahabat Khan from Parvez, because that would automatically take away the latter's source of strength.[1] Although Asaf Khan was considered a partisan of Khurram, yet because throughout the rebellion he remained loyal, he again became a favourite of the Emperor and at the request of Nur Jahan he was not sent to Bengal. The common point which might have facilitated an understanding between Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan appears to have been their fear of and hostility to the rise of Parvez and Mahabat Khan's leadership; because Asaf Khan at no stage came out to support Khurram.

On the transfer of Mahabat Khan, the reactions of many nobles are not known, but from a farman of Jahangir issued to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, it transpires that the Raja was not very happy with Mahabat Khan's removal from the Deccan, and was tardy in extending cooperation to Khan-i Jahan Lodi. Both Jahangir and Nur Jahan tried to persuade him to help Khan-i Jahan and even threatened him dire consequences including dismissal from imperial service if he failed to extend full cooperation.[2]

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1. A.K., II, 131.

2. See chapter on 'The Family of Bhar Mal Kachhwaha'.

After reaching Ranthambor, Mahabat Khan began to take precautionary measures and collected a large number of retainers. Rana Kohi (apparently the Rana of Mewar) also came to see him and supplied him with one thousand fully armed troopers for his help. When Mahabat Khan started from Ranthambor he had six thousand retainers of whom 4000 were Rajputs and 2000 Indian Muslims including Afghans.[1]

While Mahabat Khan was staying at Ranthambor, Arab Dast Ghaib reached there with 1000 soldiers to conduct him to the court. On his arrival, Mahabat Khan sent him a message saying that he was aware of his mission and as he was himself going to the court, he should not say anything disturbing in the assembly. Arab Dast Ghaib considered it advisable to remain silent.[2]

Mahabat Khan reached Lahore at a time when Emperor was going to Kabul. After his arrival, Asaf Khan informed him that he could not be allowed to pay his respects until he had cleared the demands due on him in the office of the imperial diwan and had explained his conduct towards the jagirdars in Bengal the revenues

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1. Z.K., II, 132-33; Iqbalnama, 252, also mentions that Mahabat Khan had 4 to 5 thousand Rajput retainers with him at the time when he reached Lahore.

2. Z.K., II, 132; Iqbalnama, 248, mentions only the appointment of Arab Dast Ghaib.

from whose jagirs he had appropriated. About the same time the matter regarding the marriage of his daughter with Barkhurdar Khwaja without the permission of the Emperor was also brought to the notice. Emperor showed much annoyance and ordered Barkhurdar to be brought at Court; where he was humiliated and imprisoned. Fidai Khan was asked to get back from him whatever was given to him by Mahabat Khan, and deposit it in the imperial treasury.[1] Shortly after this incident Mahabat Khan's daughter was summoned to the court. Mahabat Khan informed his Rajput allies of this saying that the honour of his daughter was in danger. The Rajputs told him that his daughter was their own daughter, hence till they were alive they would never let this happen.[2] In the meantime he also came to know that Asaf Khan had made a plan for taking him prisoner. He had arranged that on the day when the encampment was on the bank of Jhelum, and after the whole army and the camp had crossed the river and the king with his guards alone was left on this side of the river and Mahabat Khan would come to pay his respect, the King would take him by hand and put him into the royal boat. The bridge would then be broken and his men would therefore be unable to accompany him. Mahabat Khan, therefore, despatched Ahmad Khan Ghazni Afghan with

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1. Iqbalnama, 252-53; Z.K., II, 132-33, provides more details.

2. Z.K., II, 134. No other source refers to this incident.

one thousand horses to protect the bridge while reporting the Court that Ahmad was going to join the imperial army. When the royal camp reached Shahabad, Jagpat Khan came to Mahabat Khan to demand the royal elephants. In the course of discussion, Mahabat Khan was convinced that the court party was determined to ruin his family.[1] Therefore, when the imperial army had crossed the river, Mahabat Khan overpowering the royal guards took Jahangir into his custody, and his men destroyed the bridge, thus making any effective resistance against him impossible.[2]

Mutamid Khan writes that after taking possession of the Emperor, Mahabat Khan said to him that he had done so at being not able to get rid of Asaf Khan's hostility. He added that if the Emperor considered this act as a crime, he could be executed.[3] In the meantime his Rajput retainers surrounded the imperial camp from all sides, and Mahabat Khan struck Muqarrab Khan with a stick when he protested against rude behaviour, and said that 'when my wives and daughters were apportioned, you said nothing?'.[4]

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1. Z.K., II, 134-35. No other source refers to this conspiracy but a close study of Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, corroborates many points. Cf. Iqbalnama, 253-56.
2. Iqbalnama, 257-79; Z.K., II, 134-35.
3. Iqbalnama, 263-64; Z.K., II, 137.
4. Z.K., II, 135-36.

When the imperialists came to know that the Emperor was taken captive, they made an attempt to rescue him, but failed. Asaf Khan fled to the fort of Attock and Nur Jahan was also taken prisoner.[1] Mahabat Khan took command of the government under his charge and despatched an army under his son Bahroz, Jujhar Rajput and Shah Ali to besiege Attock. On the promise of the security of life, Asaf Khan surrendered, and was taken into custody by Mahabat Khan when the camp crossed the Indus at Attock on way to Kabul.[2] During this period a number of nobles considered as Asaf Khan's friends and associates like Abdul Khaliq, brother's son of Khwaja Shamsuddin, Muhammad Taqi Bakhshi and Mulla Muhammad Thattavi were executed by Mahabat Khan.[3] Mahabat Khan also made an attempt to gain the support of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. Soon after taking Jahangir as prisoner on 21st March 1627, he had a farman issued to Jai Singh in which the King was made to place on record the favourable reports made by Mahabat Khan regarding Jai Singh's role in the Deccan.[4] But such friendly gestures did not result in any positive response from the Rajput chiefs who seem to have withheld any open commitment to this audacious coup. It appears that Mahabat Khan could not really the support

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1. Iqbalnama, 260-66; Z.K., II, 137-40.

2. Iqbalnama, 266-67.

3. Ibid., 267-68.

4. See chapter on 'The Family of Raja Bhar Mal Kachhwaha'.

of other sections of the Mughal nobles also, apparently on account of his hostility towards both the Iranis and Turani nobility, and on account of the dominance of his Rajput retainers.

Besides, Mahabat Khan appears to have himself remained in confused state of mind. Although he took the bold step of arresting the Emperor, he could not think of removing Jahangir - or even Nur Jahan from the nominal pinnacle of power. He continued to hope that he could operate through Jahangir and win allies among the nobles letting all remain at their posts. As a result he could not offer much power to any of his own men, who thereby became desperate and started behaving cruelly. The tyranny of Mahabat Khan's Rajput retainers which led to a skirmish between them and the Ahdis in which Rajputs were killed in large numbers further weakened the position of Mahabat Khan.[1] Taking advantage of this situation the Emperor strengthened his position by enlisting the support of a large number of nobles. On his way back to Lahore, when the imperial camp was near Rohtas, Jahangir sent orders to Mahabat Khan to go on a stage ahead, as he was holding a review of the Begum's troops.[2] Mahabat Khan who must have realised his weakness and the power of the imperialists took to

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1. Iqbalnama, 270-71. Six hundred to seven hundred Rajputs were killed in this skirmish. English Factories (1624-29), 152. The number of Mahabat Khan's soldiers slain in the conflict is estimates at 2,000. Z.K., II, 141.

2. Iqbalnama, 275-76.

flight taking with him as hostages, Asaf Khan, his son Abu Talib, Daniyal's sons Tahmures and Hushang, and Lashkari son of Mukhlis Khan. After reaching Rohtas, Afzal Khan was despatched to Mahabat Khan commanding him to release at once the hostages, and to proceed to Thatta to stop Shahjahan. He was warned that if he delayed sending Asaf Khan to the court, an army should be sent after him. After an exchange of letters and of promises, Mahabat Khan released Asaf Khan and others. However, Abu Talib was released only after he had marched a few stages towards Thatta.[1]

Mahabat Khan proceeded towards Thatta through Jaisalmer. After reaching Pokhran, which was a dependency of Jaisalmer, he stayed there for sometime. He demanded in marriage the daughter of the chief for his son. It had not been reported whether the marriage took place, but the chief of Pokhran and Rawal Kalyan Jailsalmeri (who was related to the chief of Pokhran) came to him and presented him elephants, horses and other valuables. They also requested him to pass the rainy season in their territory.[2] After the rainy season he went to the Rana of Mewar for seeking his help, but the Rana did not show him much courtesy. Thereafter he fled into the territory of the Bhils between Mewar and Gujarat. 12000 Bhils came to his banners. He stayed there for sometime

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1. Iqbalnama, 277-78.

2. Z.K., II, 141.

in their mountainous ravines. During these hard days many of his Rajput retainers left his service, and only two thousand of them remained.[1] About the same time Khanazad Khan, son of Mahabat Khan, having been dismissed from the governorship of Bengal, came to the court, where he was graciously received. He tried to bring about a reconciliation between the Court and Mahabat Khan, but could not succeed because of the hostile attitude of Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan.[2]

Hence, Mahabat Khan, reduced in men and material and hotly pursued by the imperial army, opened negotiations with Shahjahan.[3] His letters reached Shahjahan while the prince was on his way to the Deccan having come to know of the death of Parvez. Mahabat Khan offered complete reconciliation and an alliance with him if he promised him full pardon for his past conduct. Shahjahan responded favourably, because his condition at that time was very poor and Mahabat Khan's help and cooperation would have naturally improved his position. Mahabat Khan presented himself before Shahjahan at Junair with 2000 horse. Shortly after his arrival, Jahangir died.[4]

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1. Z.K., II, 141-42.
2. English Factories, January 4, 1628, p.204; Iqbalnama, 286, refers only to the dismissal of Khanazad Khan and the appointment of Mukarram Khan in his place.
3. English Factories, 204; Iqbalnama, 286, refers to a huge treasure brought from Bengal for Mahabat Khan being captured by the Imperial forces
4. Z.K., II, 142; Iqbalnama, 289. For details, see chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan'; English Factory Record, 204-205.

On receiving a communication from Asaf Khan about the development at the court, Shahjahan sent a farman to Khan-i Jahan conforming him in the viceroyalty of the Deccan.[1] But Khan-i Jahan declined to offer his allegiance; besides other considerations,[2] he was also unhappy with the high favour shown to Mahabat Khan with whom his relations had been unhappy. The author of Zakhirat-ul Khawanin represents Darya Khan and Fazil Khan as having advised Khan Jahan against joining Shah Jahan on the very ground of the favour shown by the latter to Mahabat Khan "Shahjahan to whom you had rendered such service, (during Shahjahan's stay in Junair) has been joined by Mahabat Khan the day before yesterday and Shahjahan had given him the title of Sipahsalar (Khan Khanan) which had been conferred on you by the late King".[3]

Shahjahan proceeded towards Agra through Gujarat after Khan-i Jahan's refusal to permit him to march through Burhanpur.[4] The author of Zakhirat-ul Khawanin states that during this time Mahabat Khan combined in himself the offices of Vakil, Vazir, Munshi, Mir Manzil, Bavarchi and

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1. Badshahnama, I, 75; Iqbalnama, 294.

2. See chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan' for the details of Khan Jahan's attitude towards Shahjahan.

3. Z.K., II, 81-82; Iqbalnama, 298 refers only to the title of Khan Khanan being conferred on Khan-i Jahan after the death of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

4. See chapter on 'The Family of Daulat Khan'.

Safarchi.[1] He also asserts that the Rana of Mewar and other imperial officers joined Shahjahan through the efforts of Mahabat Khan.[2]

After reaching Ajmer, Shahjahan went to offer prayers in the dargah of Muinuddin Chishti. Mahabat Khan accompanied him in the dargah and is reported to have said: 'My desire was that you should become the king, God be praised that the desire had been fulfilled. Please swear by the Quran and make the great Khwaja a witness that my offences be forgiven in accordance with pact previously undertaken, because tomorrow Asaf Khan the head of the family of Itimaduddaula with whom you have very close relationship would come and order my execution as he is thirsty for my blood. Or grant me leave to go to Mecca' . Shahjahan assured him of his protection. He was also assigned Ajmer and its neighbourhood in jagir (Tuil).[3]

This incident indicates that Mahabat Khan was skeptical about the attitude of Asaf Khan and latter events clearly show that his suspicions

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1. Z.K., II, 142.

2. Ibid., Badshahnama, I, 79-80. Lahori writes that when Shahjahan entered the territory of Mewar, Rana Karan came and offered him obedience. He was confirmed to the rank of 5000/5000.

3. Z.K., II, 143-44; Badshahnama, I, 81-82. Lahori refers to Shahjahan's visit to the dargah, but makes no reference to this incident.

were not completely confounded.

After reaching Agra, along with other nobles Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 7000/7000 du aspa sih aspa, and was presented four lacs of rupees in cash.[1] Khanazad Khan who was closely associated with Asaf Khan during the crisis was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000 and given the title of Khan-i Zaman.[2] He was also appointed governor of Malwa. His second son Mirza Lahrasp was also given the rank of 2000/1000.[3] Diler Himmat, Afarsiyab and Bahrawar, seem to have received only minor ranks.[4]

Shortly afterwards Mahabat Khan was appointed governor of the Deccan, and Khan-i Zaman his son, who was governor of Malwa, was ordered to proceed to take charge of the suba as his deputy.[5]

These events show that Mahabat Khan and his sons were generously rewarded, through high promotions in rank and important appointment. But apparently Asaf Khan was still hostile to him, because Iradat Khan was appointed to the Deccan before Khan-i Zaman could reach there. He was

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1. Badshahnama, I, 116-17.
2. Ibid., 158; Z.K., II, 263-64
3. Ibid., Ibid., III 95-96 mention 1000/1000.
4. Z.K., III, 95-97, where brief notices of Mirza Lahrasp, Diler Himmat, Mirza Gurshop Bichroz and Afrasiyab are to be found.
5. Badshahnama, I, 199

summoned to the court and given the jagir of Sambhal,[1] and Mahabat Khan was given the governorship of Delhi.[2] The fort of Ranthambor which had been in the jagir of Mahabat Khan from the time of Jahangir was also taken from him and given to Husani Chela now styled Qiledar Khan.[3]

From 1628 to 1632 Mahabat Khan and his son Khan-i Zaman remained at the court and their services were utilised in suppressing the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela and Khan-i Jahan Lodi. Khan-i Zaman also accompanied Shahjahan to the Deccan.[4] It appears that until 1632, the family, though it received promotions in rank, was not given important assignments, because of the great influence enjoyed by Asaf Khan. But as the problems in the Deccan could not be tackled by Azam (Iradat) Khan, and Asaf Khan declined the offer of the viceroyalty of the Deccan, Mahabat Khan was given charge of the suba in 1632.[5] It also appears that the influence of Asaf Khan also declined after this incident. Khan-i Zaman who was present in the Deccan was ordered to immediately proceed there. Mahabat Khan too proceeded to the Deccan from Agra along with his sons and grandsons to take up the command.[6] He remained incharge of the Deccan until his death in 1634 .

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1. Badshahnama, I, 256, 269.
2. Ibid., 255.
3. Ibid., 287.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 424.
6. Ibid., 428.

Conclusion

The study of the different family groups of nobles shows that Akbar succeeded in giving a new structure to the Mughal nobility, which largely continued under Jahangir also.

When Akbar ascended the throne he had to face a serious crisis in the nobility. The period of regency and the rivalries for the office of Vakil (1556-60 to 1560-62) witnessed a grim struggle between Bairam Khan and his associates and the rest of the nobility and later on between the groups of Maham Anaga and Shamsuddin Atka. On both these occasions Akbar himself used one of groups to overthrow or control the other and ultimately succeeded in getting the reins of government in his hands.[1]

But this period provided Akbar with an opportunity to study the internal problems and tensions in the Mughal nobility and made him conscious of the fact that for the consolidation of his Empire a disciplined ruling class faithful only to the ruler was a necessity.

Therefore soon after taking the reins of government in his hands, he introduced such administrative reforms as could reduce the

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1. See especially chapters on 'The Families of Bairam Khan, Shamsuddin Atka and Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman.

powers of the clan groups of nobles,[1] and strengthen the central authority. These attempts were resisted by the old Turani nobility because the effect of these reforms fell directly on them.[2]

The effects of these rebellious reforms were of far reaching consequences. Akbar succeeded in breaking the strength of important Turani faction, including the clan-cum-family groups of nobles. In their place he raised to higher ranks younger elements both among Turanis and Iranis. Further, he also introduced in substantial numbers indigenous elements, both Indian Muslims and Rajput chiefs. Important offices were now given largely to these new groups. Along with individual nobles, certain clan cum family groups which served him faithfully during the critical years of 1562-65, were raised to higher rank during that period, and came to enjoy a very important position.[3]

It would appear that Akbar once again had to face the pressures of the entrenched groups of nobles after his triumph over the Uzbek nobles in the 1560's. Undoubtedly there was a marked difference

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1. See Iqtidar Alam Khan, <u>Political Biography of a Mughal Noble: Munim Khan Khan Khanan 1497-1575</u>, pp.xvii-xix for a discussion on the nature of these reforms and their effects on the clan-cum/groups of nobles.

2. See Chapter III.

3. See Chapters I, II, IV and V.

between the old clan cum family groups and the ones raised by Akbar.[1] The new family groups were the creations of Akbar whereas the old ones were in the service of Mughals for the last several generations, and played important role in the conquest of India. However, Akbar remained vigilant towards these new groups also and sought to take measures through which he could keep in check the growth of clannish tendencies in his nobility. One of such measures, was the transfer of his officers from one place to another in quick succession.[2] In this connection Abul Fazl's remarks at the time of the transfer of Atka clan from the Panjab are worth quoting:

> "It is not hidden from the hearts of the far-seeing and clear sighted that the spiritual garland-twiners of sovereignty (i.e. King) resemble gardeners. As gardeners adorn gardens with trees and move them from one place to another, and reject many, and irrigate others and labour to rear them to a proper size, and extirpate bad trees and lop off evil branches, and remove trees that are too large and graft some upon others and gather their various fruits and flowers and enjoy their shade when necessary and do other things which are established in the science of horticulture, so do just and far seeing kings, take care of the affairs of the servants by instructing, educating and punishing them and thereby light the lamp of wisdom and uprear the standard of guidance".[3]

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1. See Chapter III for an idea of the working of old clan group and I (II phase), II, IV and V for the new groups raised by Akbar.

2. Cf. also Afzal Husain, 'Provincial Governors under Akbar', Indian History Congress, 1970, pp.269-77.

3. Akbarnama, III, 332, Beveridge's translation is slightly confusing and has been modified by reference to the original.

He also declared it a state policy not to give contiguous _jagirs_ to members of the same family or clan group.[1] Another important step which shattered the tribal and clannish tendencies among his nobles was the appointment of a junior member of the family at the head of his elders, who were also senior in service. These steps were resented by the nobles but Abdul Fazl, the official historians of Akbar, strongly justifies these appointments. His observation with reference to Mirza Aziz Koka's appointment as governor of Gujarat is given below.

> "Though the Khan-i Kalan and Qutubuddin Muhammad Khan were the uncles of the Khan Azam and were old, yet the farsightedness of the Shahinshah put them in subordinate position, for in the code of just sovereignty, weight is given to wisdom and not to years and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty and not upon age. Farsightedness is the pillar, not bodily bulk. Intellect is the substantive thing, not the largeness of the visible body. The foundation of appointments is talents and virtues and the qualities of ancestors are not regarded".[2]

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1. Abul Fazl in this connection writes 'Whenever a large body is gathered together of one mind and speech, and show much push and energy, it is proper to disperse them, firstly for their own good and secondly for the welfare of the community. Even if no improper act in consequence of the aggregation be seen or suspected such dispersion is the material of union, for security cannot be guaranteed where there is damage from the man-throwing wine of the world, and the weak-headed drinkers of the cup of intoxication. Especially when strife-mongers and table bearers abound. Negligence is implanted in the human constitution'.

   Akbarnama, II, 332 Beveridge's translation, modified.

2. _Akbarnama_, III, 33

Apart from making use of these new devices, Akbar did not hesitate to punish the highest officials of his realm for their lapses or refusal to implement imperial orders. Members of most prominent families were so punished as will be seen from our account of some of such families.[1]

To keep nobles in check Akbar also raised a parallel bureaucracy which comprised persons rising from lower ranks with no social or ethnic group to support them. Some such persons (e.g. Muzaffar Khan, Todar Mal, Khwaja Shah Mansur, Shahbaz Khan Kamboh) held important central offices.[2]

By adopting these measures Akbar was able to efficiently run his government, and prevented any serious crisis in his nobility for a very long time.

However, in 1580-81 Mughal Empire was faced with a very critical situation on account of the rebellion of Qaqshals, a close knit clan group of nobles. But as soon as Akbar was able to finally subdue this rebellion, he took further steps to weaken the power of the family

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1. See chapters on the families of Shamsuddin Atka and Raja Bhar Mal Kachhwaha particularly.

2. A.J. Qaisar, 'Shahbaz Khan Kamboh', Medieval India - A Miscellany, I, 48-73. For the career of Muzaffar Khan, Todar Mal and Khwaja Shah Mansur, see Maasir-ul Umara, I, 653-59, III, 221-27.

groups. The study of the Family of Bhar Mal Kachhwaha, the family of Shamsuddin Atka and the family of Bairam Khan indicates Akbar's discriminatory attitude towards certain members of these families. It appears that he decided to give promotions and important assignments only to the sons of those nobles with whom he had personal relations. For example, after the death of Ismail Quli Khan-i Jahan and Husain Quli their sons were given only minor ranks and no further promotions were given to them.[1] Similarly the sons of Qutubuddin Khan, Mir Muhammad and Sharif Khan were not given high mansabs or important assignments.[2] For the Kachhwahas (Rajawat) also the same policy was adopted. Bhar Mal's brothers who also joined service, in due course of time lost their position in the Mughal hierarchy. High mansabs and important charges were given only to the brothers and sons of Bhagwan Das.[3] In this connection it may be added that an important reason which hampered the rise of Barha Sayyids seems to have been their deep-rooted clannish tendencies.[4]

We have seen in the preceding pages how Akbar was able to build up an efficient and loyal bureaucracy by affecting some basic changes in the Mughal polity (especially in the conditions of service of

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1. See Chapter I.
2. See Chapter II.
3. For more details, see Chapter IV.
4. See Chapter V.

his nobles). But he failed to provide any solution to the problem of succession; and as a result the nobility tended to divide into factions supporting rival princes. Expectations from a potential successor could also weaken the rigid bonds of loyalty to the reigning monarch. We know that Mirza Hakim was alive, on two occasions he was declared king by the rebel nobles.[1] Subsequently, as Akbar's own sons grew to maturity, nobles tended to attach themselves to one or the other of the princes. For example, Abdur Rahim was considered a supporter of Salim and Sadiq Muhammad Khan of Murad.[2]

The problem relating to the crisis of succession arose once again at the time of Akbar's serious illness when physicians gave up all hopes for his recovery, and the Mughal nobility sharply divided on this issue. Although Salim was now the only son of Akbar who had survived and because certain leading nobles of the Empire like Mirza Aziz Koka and Raja Man Singh were apparently not sure whether they would be able to maintain their pre-eminent position in the event of his accession, they decided to raise to throne a prince of their own choice. As there was no other son of Akbar available, they decided to enthrone Khusrau the eldest son of Salim. A meeting to put forward the claim of Khusrau and

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1. See Chapter III. During the rebellion of Qaqshals (1580-81) also khutba was read in the name of Mirza Hakim. Cf. Maasir-ul Umara, III, 207-11.

2. Chapter I (III phase).

to nominate him as heir in which Mirza Aziz Koka, Qulich Khan, Man Singh, Said Khan and Shaikh Farid Bukhari, was held - according to one account, in the presence of Akbar. Said Khan and Qulich Khan vehemently opposed the move and with the crucial support of Shaikh Farid foiled the move to supersede Salim. Mirza Aziz now decided to abandon the court, and with the help of Shaikh Farid opened negotiations with Salim and promised to surrender if he agreed to assign Bengal up to Chausa to Khusrau and pardon all those nobles ~~xx~~ who had supported Khusrau. Salim agreed to these conditions and Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka along with Khusrau presented themselves before him. They were given dresses of honour and confirmed to their old assignments. It is quite interesting to note that these developments took place when the Emperor was alive. Nimatullah states that in the meeting Akbar made no comments but when Salim came to see him, he informed him of the conspiracy hatched to arrest him. He asked him not to visit him again and designated him as his heir. These events clearly show the anxiety among the nobles about their future careers, forcing them to take important decisions about Imperial Succession, on their own.[1]

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1. Risala-i Tarikh Asad Beg Qazwini. Rotograph copy, B.M., fol. 52-53; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani wa Makhzan-i Afghan, II, 654-660, Nimatullah gives more details and also mentions that Qilich Khan was one of the main supporters of Salim. Shaikh Farid's role has also been highlighted by him. Jahangir in his memoirs also mentions that on the day of accession he forgave the offences of Akbar's nobles. See Tuzuk, 6-7.

Jahangir honoured most of his commitments and in respect of the 11th article of his 'twelve regulations' issued immediately after his accession, he says, 'I gave a general order that the ranks and _jagirs_ held by my father's servants will remain unchanged. Later the _mansabs_ were increased according to each one's circumstances by not less than 20 per cent to 300 or 400 per cent'.[1] The order seems to have enforced in practice: the _mansabs_ of Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka were not curtailed after the accession. Later on when action was taken against Aziz Koka, this was on account of other causes.[2]

However, Jahangir could not place absolute reliance on the old Akbarshahi nobility, particularly when Khusrau had rebelled soon after his accession.[3] Hence he raised a new nobility on whom he could have complete confidence. With this end in mind, he promoted to a higher rank, Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, Khan-i Jahan Lodi, Mahabat Khan, Qutubuddin Khan,

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1. _Tuzuk_, 4-5; Roger's translation is modified. At another place in the same year he said 'I left all those who were in possession of posts, both inside and outside, in the positions which they had with my father'. _Tuzuk_, 7 (R.B., I, 14).

2. See Chapter II.

3. Jahangir writes in the first year of his reign: 'Though on the day of my accession I had forgiven all offences and determined with myself that I would exact no retribution for past deeds, yet on account of the suspicion that had been aroused in my mind about them I considered the Amir-ul Umara my guardian and protector'. _Tuzuk_

Bir Singh Deo Bundela[1] and others. Although as we have already mentioned, the mansabs of old nobles were not curtailed, younger officers were raised to equal ranks by means of extraordinary promotions. This naturally created rivalry and suspicion between the 'Akbarshahi' and 'Jahangirshahi' nobles. As a result of these differences among nobles the Emperor's hold on the nobility weakened considerably. The regulations issued at the end of sixth year of Jahangir's reign bear testimony to this.[2] On the other hand the campaigns against Mewar rulers and the Deccan states also ran into difficulties owing to dissensions among nobles. Certain important

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1. See chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX. For Bir Singh Deo Bundela, see K.K. Trivedi, 'Rajput Clans in the Mughal Nobility - The Bundela Case', presented to the Indian History Congress held at Bhubaneswar (1977).

2. At the end of sixth year of his reign, Jahangir issued following regulations as he came to know that 'some nobles on the borders practise things which are of no concern/them and do not observe Tura and regulations (Zawabit).

   "The first thing is this that they should not sit in the jharokha and should not trouble their officers and captains of the auxiliaries with keeping guards or saluting them, and should not have elephant fights, and should not inflict the punishment of blinding and should not cut off ears and noses and should not force Islam on any one, and should not confer titles on their servants and should not force the musicians to observe chauki in the manner which is customary in (royal) darbars, and should not beat drums when they go out, and when they give a horse or elephant to any one, whether to the King's attendants or to their own servants, they should not place reins or elephants' goads on their backs and make them perform obeisance. In going in procession they should not take with them on foot in their retinue the royal attendants. If they write anything to them, they should not put a seal on it. The regulations which have been styled the rules of Jahangir (Ain-i Jahangiri) are now in force". Tuzuk, 100; Roger's translation has been slightly modified.

nobles both old Akbarshahi and the new nobles lost favour with the Emperor.[1] In the meantime after the marriage of Nur Jahan with Jahangir, the family of Itimaduddaulah rose to occupy unique position.

Regarding the rise of the family of Itimaduddaulah and the extent of its influence a good deal of work has already been done.[2] It may be added that the family was not a new comer and had been enjoying an important position since the time of Akbar. Khwaja Ghayasuddin Ali Asaf Khan son of Aqa Mulla had become quite an important noble at the Mughal court as early as 1573. He was given the title of Asaf Khan and held the offices of Diwan and Mir Bakhshi.[3] Another member of the family Jafar Beg Asaf Khan who arrived at the court of Akbar in 1577 also held the office of Mir Bakhshi and rank of 4000. Certain other relations of Jafar Beg also came during the reign of Akbar and received mansabs. After his accession, Jahangir himself promoted Jafar Beg Asaf Khan to the rank of 5000 and made him the guardian of Parvez who was despatched to the Mewar campaign.[4] Other members of the family Ghayas Beg, Aqa Mulla and

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1. See Chapters I, II, VII and IX for details.

2. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, 171-180; Hodivala, 'Numismatic Supplement', JASB, XLII, 1929, 59-68; S.N. Hasan, 'The Theory of Nurjahan Junta', Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1958, 324-35; Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nurjahan During Jahangir's Reign, a political Study', Medieval India - A Miscellany, I, 74-95.

3. Akbarnama, III, 228, 204; Badauni, 170. He was one of those nobles who actively cooperated in the implementation of branding regulations. He died in 1581.

4. Tuzuk, 7; Iqbalnama, 22.

Iradat Khan were also promoted after the accession.[1] The earlier importance of the family, however, does not mean that Nurjahan's marriage with Jahangir did not play a key role in the further rise of the family. Indeed before 1611, the family had come under some cloud. The marriage restored imperial confidence in the family and cleared the way for Itimaduddaulah's appointment as Vakil. The almost meteoric rise of this family was accompanied by a decline in the fortunes of other important nobles and high families.

We have examined the extent of the influence enjoyed by Nurjahan. This shows that between 1617-19, it had attained sufficient power to affect the career of certain families and nobles. In this context we have also examined the information contained in the Intikhab-i Jahangir Shahi. A close scrutiny of the evidence shows that its account is corroborated by other contemporary sources. Besides it also emerges from our study that at one stage (16) the interests of Nurjahan and Asaf Khan were at variance; Asaf Khan supported the cause of his son in law Khurram and the energies of Nurjahan were at work to promote the cause of her son in law Shahryar. Thereafter they ceased to be working in unison as their interests clashed.[2]

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1. Tuzuk, 9; Iqbalnama, 19.

2. See specially Chapter IX.

The setback that occurred in the fortunes of the family of Shaikh Salim Chishti, Mahabat Khan, Abdullah Khan and Khan-i Jahan Lodi was not only because of the hostile attitude of Nurjahan's family clique as suggested by some contemporary historians or modern scholars. If we study more closely the political developments at the court of Jahangir after his accession it would appear reasonable to hold that the decline of the other families was only indirectly due to the elevation of Itimaduddaulah's family. The mansabs of the above mentioned nobles and their family members in service were not curtailed; only further promotion was stayed or slowed down. Apparently this step was taken because of limited resources. In the early years of his reign because of political compulsions high mansabs were given to a large number of new comers, while old nobles were confirmed in the mansabs and some of them were also promoted. To meet the additional burden, since no new territory was gained, the extent of khalisa (Emperor's own dominion) must have been reduced. But there was a limit to this also. After the sixth year of his reign, the rate of promotion in mansab slowed down. Therefore, after Nurjahan's marriage when a large number of her relations were admitted and given promotions to higher ranks, this naturally must have curtailed further the extent to which other families could be given promotions.

The subsequent events of the reign of Jahangir revolve round the activities of the royal Princes. With their changing fortunes there

were new alignment and realignments of the groups of nobles and there were sharp divisions of nobles at the court.[1] The main cause behind these divisions was the lack of confidence among them about their future careers. They were certain that if the Prince of their own choice did not succeed, they would be eclipsed. The rebellion of Khurram, Mahabat Khan's *coup* and the civil war after the death of Jahangir were the result of these apprehensions. Shahjahan's accession confirmed the apprehension of some who had supported the other side.[2] We notice that promotions to higher ranks and all important appointments were given to those who were his favourites and those who supported his cause. Although like Jahangir, Shahjahan also pardoned almost all those who were in the opposite camps, yet as all important posts were filled by his own favourites, and all surviving princes were executed on the eve of the accession, certain important nobles rebelled and career of many other nobles and families rapidly declined.[3]

The racial composition of the nobility also underwent a great change in our period on account of political compulsion and the measures adopted by Akbar to check the recalcitrant nobility. Akbar gave a fair

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1. See Chapters VII, VIII and IX.

2. See Chapter VII and IX for details.

3. See specially chapters II, VII and IX.

degree of representation to not only Iranis but also to local elements - the Rajputs and Indian Muslims to counter the old nobility. However, attempts made in recent years to analyse the racial composition of Akbar's nobility, and the rise of one or the other ethnic group explained in relation to various politico-religious pressures in the Empire is very difficult to explain in the light of the studies of prominent family groups of almost every important ethnic group present in the nobility. For example the progress of either of these family groups: Shamsuddin Atka, Bairam Khan, Bhar Mal Kachhwaha and Barha Sayyid, was affected neither by religious tension nor by political pressures. They continued to enjoy pre-eminent position as long as they continued to remain loyal to the Emperor. The temporary set back which these families experienced was usually the outcome of their own political conduct.[1]

The accession of Jahangir brought no significant change in the composition of the nobility, except for the inclusion of Afghans in the ruling class. One of the important reasons, for their admission in the nobility, no doubt, was to take into confidence the Afghans, who had been relegated to a lower position by Akbar. This restoration of the Afghans to favour became possible only because certain Afghans were

1. See Chapters I, II, IV and V.
Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy 1560-80', JRAS, 1968.

serving the Mughals since a long time, although in minor capacities. A few Afghans had also been in the personal service of Jahangir during his princehood.[1]

In or about 1013, Mirza Aziz Koka in a letter addressed to the Emperor, accused him of promoting the Shaikhzadas and Khurasanis at the expense of the Turanis and Rajputs. But a close scrutiny of facts suggests the need for scepticism with regard to this allegation. The table[2] given below shows that the charge of undue favour shown to Khurasanis and Shaikhzadas is not really borne out.

		Total No. of mansabdars	Turani	Irani	Rajput	Indian Muslims
1575-95	500 & above	184	64 37.78 %	47 25.54 %	30 16.30 %	34 18.48 %
At the death of Akbar	" "	95	30 31.56 %	21 22.26 %	17 17.89 %	5 5.26 %
During six years of Jahangir	1000 & above	91	30 32.97 %	21 23 %	19 20 %	16 17.59 %

But there must have been some reason which prompted him to write such a harsh letter and bewail the importance being given to the upstart elements.

1. For details see Chapter VII.

2. For reference see Appendix A.

We have seen that during the reign of Akbar few family groups, like the family of Shamsuddin Atka and Bhar Mal Kachhwaha, enjoyed a distinct position at the court. When Akbar was seriously ill and the question of succession arose, Aziz Koka and Man Singh (representing the two families) conspired to enthrone Khusrau who was closely related to them through matrimonial relations, to retain their predominant position at the court. But as the conspiracy failed, Jahangir raised a new nobility to counter the old Akbarshahi nobles who were involved in the effort to supersede him, Mirza Aziz Koka saw only ruin for the Turanis and Rajputs. A similar question was raised by him during the reign of Akbar, when promotions were given to Abul Fazl, Faizi, Qulich Khan and others. Hence the main reason behind this complaint was the rise of new nobility, and not a change in the Emperor's 'racial' policy.[1]

However, the Rajput nobility suffered a set back, not because their numerical strength declined or their total mansabs fell sharply,[2] but because they were not given charge of subas and independent commands. Moreover, after the death of Man Singh the rank of 7000/7000 was also not

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1. See Chapter II for more details.

2. See Appendix 'A' for the lists of nobles who were alive at the death of Akbar and during the first six years of Jahangir's reign, and of the mansabs held at the end of 15th r.y. of Jahangir.

given to any Rajput noble. However, it does not mean that Jahangir became hostile to Rajputs in general. Other clans of Rajputs were given high ranks, but as the Kachhwahas (Rajawat) lost the pre-eminent position which they had been enjoying for the last four decades, it appeared as if the whole Rajput nobility had lost its importance. Even during the reign of Akbar, governorships and independent commands were given generally to the Kachhwahas (Rajawat) only.[1] As regards to the promotions to the rank of 7000/7000, only Itimaduddaulah was given this rank before the rebellion of Khurram and Mahabat Khan; Khan-i Jahan Lodi was granted this rank after the revolt of Shahjahan.[2]

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1. See Chapter IV.

2. Jahangir's comments at the time of Sharif Khan's promotion to the rank of 5000 in the first year of his reign are quite significant. He writes 'I promoted him to the rank of 5000/5000 and the lofty title of Amir-ul Ulama to which no title of my servant is superior. Though his position might have warranted a higher rank, he himself represented to me that until some notable on his part had become perceptible to me he would not accept a higher rank than that mentioned (5000)'. Tuzuk, 6.

Appendix A

List of Babur's Nobles

1. Araish Khan	(Indian)	*Baburnama*, 463, 565; *T.U.*, 13b.
2. Ahmad Parvanchi		*T.U.*, 12a; *Baburnama*, 468, 472.
3. Abdul Shakoor Mughal		*T.U.*, 16b.
4. Ali Khan Shaikhzada of Farmal	(Indian)	*Baburnama*, 526-27, 567; *T.U.*, 14b.
5. Arghun Sultan brother of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang		*Baburnama*, 461; *T.U.*, 12a.
6. Ahmad Shah s/o Sultan Nasiruddin	(Indian)	*Baburnama*, 593, 598; *T.U.*,
7. Ahmad Yusuf Oghlu		*Baburnama*, 550.
8. Aulia Khan Sarwani	(Indian)	*T.U.*, 14a; *Baburnama*, 677.
9. Khwaja Asadullah Jandar Khwafi	(Irani)	*Baburnama*, 543, 546.
10. Alam Khan Kalpiwal	(Indian)	*Baburnama*, 544, 598, 682; *T.U.*, 15a.
11. Adil Sultan son of Mahdi Sultan		*T.U.*, 11b; *Baburnama*, 567.
12. Abul Fath Turkman		*Baburnama*, 540; *T.U.*, 16a.
13. Amir Abdullah Kitabdar		*Baburnama*, 471-72.
14. Amir Abdul Aziz *Mir Akhur*		*Baburnama*, 567; *T.U.*, 11b.

15. Mir Abul Baqa		T.U., 14a.
16. Abul Muhammad Nezabaz		Baburnama, 473, 582; T.U., 16b.
17. Ahmad Qasim Kabuli		T.U., 14b.
18. Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan son of Sultan Bahlol	(Indian)	Baburnama, 439-42, 444, 565.
19. Ustad Ali Quli		Baburnama, 469.
20. Alawal Khan Nurkhani	(Indian)	T.U., 13b; Baburnama, 677, 680.
21. Mirza Khan Tar Khan		T.U., 16b.
22. Baba Sultan Qashqa		Baburnama, 404-05, 442; T.U., 17a.
23. Baqi Saqaval		T.U., 12a; Baburnama, 676.
24. Bikaub Sultan Usbek Shaibani		Baburnama, 442
25. Shaikh Bhikhari	(Indian)	T.U., 17a.
26. Chin Timur Sultan Chaghtai		Baburnama, 467.
27. Amir Darwesh Muhammad Sarban		Baburnama, 472.
28. Dilawar Khan Khan Khanan son of Daulat Khan Lodi	(Indian)	Baburnama, 461, 567; T.U., 12a.
29. Malik Dad Karrani	(Indian)	Baburnama, 540, 557.
30. Darwesh Ali son of Yusuf Ali		Baburnama, 587.
31. Dost Muhammad Beg Mughal son of Baba Qashqa		Baburnama, 539.
32. Mir Faqir Ali		T.U., 14b.
33. Fath Khan Sarwani Khan-i Jahan	(Indian)	T.U., 14b; Baburnama, 534.
34. Firoz Khan Sarang Khani	(Indian)	Baburnama, 527.

35. Shaikh Ghuran	(Indian)	Baburnama, 529.
36. Husain Khan Darya Khani	(Indian)	T.U., 17a.
37. Hindu Beg Quchin		Baburnama, 472.
38. Husain Ali Turkman		T.U., 14a.
39. Husamuddin Ali Barlas son of Nizamuddin Khalifa		Baburnama, 601.
40. Khwaja Husain Beg brother of Uzun Hasan	Baburnama, 458, 549;	T.U., 17a.
41. Sayyid Mir Hama	(Irani)	Baburnama, 546, T.U.,17a.
42. Husain Aqa Sistani	(Irani)	Baburnama, 566.
43. Mustafa Rumi Tawachi		Baburnama, 471, 550.
44. Mir Mughal son of Abul Wahab Shaghwal		Baburnama, 658, 673-74.
45. Muhammad Zaman Mirza		T.U., 18a; Baburnama, 606, 631.
46. Mahmud Khan son of Fateh Khan Sarwani 'Khan-i Jahan'	(Indian)	T.U., 14a.
47. Shaikh Muhammad	(Indian)	T.U., 17a.
48. Sayyid Mashhadi	(Irani)	Baburnama, 688.
49. Momin Atka		T.U., 13a.
50. Mujahid Khan Multani	(Indian)	Baburnama, 404; T.U., 16a.
51. Muhammad Sultan Mirza son of Wais Mirza		Baburnama, 468, 472.
52. Muhammad Ali Jang Jang		Baburnama, 472; T.U., 11b.
53. Sayyid Mahdi Khwaja son of Musa Khwaja		Baburnama, 472, 475.
54. Muhib Ali Khan Barlas son of Nizamuddin Khalifa		Baburnama, 472.

55. Sultan Muhammad Bakhshi	(Indian)	Baburnama, 460 T.U., 13a.
56. Muhammadi Kokaltash		Baburnama, 472; T.U., 11b.
57. Malik Sharaf		T.U., 14a.
58. Sultan Muhammad Duldai		Baburnama, 472.
59. Mahmud Khan Lohani	(Indian)	Baburnama, 527; T.U., 14b
60. Shah Muhammad son of Baba Qashqa		Baburnama
61. Sayyid Nizamuddin Khalifa		Baburnama, 473.
62. Nizam Khan brother of Alam Khan of Biana	(Indian)	T.U., 15b; Baburnama, 567.
63. Mirza Nuruddin son in law of Babur	T.U., 14b.	
64. Pir Quli Sistani	(Irani)	Baburnama, 472, 566.
65. Khwaja Pahalwan Bakhshi		T.U., 16b.
66. Amir Qara Quzi		Baburnama, 473.
67. Ismail Jalaurani or Jalwani	(Indian)	Baburnama, 464, 677; T.U., 14a.
68. Ismail Beg		T.U., 14b.
69. Amir Jani Beg Atka		Baburnama, 460.
70. Sultan Jalaluddin son of Husain Shah	(Indian)	Baburnama, 651-52.
71. Sultan Junaid Barlas		Baburnama, 460, 471.
72. Jamal Khan son of Sultan Alauddin	(Indian)	Baburnama, 567.
73. Jafar Khwaja son of Mahdi Khwaja		Baburnama 579, 582; T.U., 17a.
74. Shaikh Jamal Farmali	(Indian)	Baburnama, 551; T.U., 16b.

75. Khalifa Kuki son of Baba Qashqa		Baburnama 551
76. Kichak Khwaja brother of Khwaja Kalan Beg		Baburnama, 681; T.U., 14a
77. Khwaja Kalan Beg son of Maulana Muhammad Sadar		Baburnama, 438, 631; T.U., 12a.
78. Kitta Beg Kohbar Chaghtai		Baburnama, T.U., 12a.
79. Khusrau Kokaltash		Baburnama, 472.
80. Khalil Akhta Beg		T.U., 17a.
81. Kamal Khan son of Sultan Alauddin	(Indian)	Baburnama, 567; T.U.,13b.
82. Lal Wali		Baburnama,
83. Lashkar Khan Janjna	(Indian)	T.U., 16a.
84. Muhammad Qasim Mughal		Baburnama, 599.
85. Qutlu Qadam Qarawal		Baburnama T.U., 11b
86. Qismati Mirza		Baburnama, 474.
87. Qasim Husain Sultan		Baburnama,
88. Qamam Beg son of Urdu Shah		Baburnama, 550, 556; T.U., 13b.
89. Quchak Beg brother of Yardi Beg		T.U., 16a.
90. Khwaja Rahim Das paternal nephew of Mahdi Khwaja		Baburnama, 539-40.
91. Rafiuddin Safavi	(Irani)	Baburnama, 539, 606.
92. Rustam Turkistani		Baburnama, 568; T.U., 17a.
93. Shah Mir Husain Qarlaq		Baburnama, 403, 422; T.U., 12a.
94. Shah Mansur Barlas		Baburnama, 465-66.
95. Tengri Bardi		Baburnama, 472.

96. Tradika		T.U., 12a.
97. Taj Khan Sarangkhani	(Indian)	Baburnama, 657.
98. Timur Sultan Uzbek		T.U., 17b.
99. Tukhta Beg Sultan Chaghtai		Baburnama, 647.
100. Wali Khazin Qarquzi		T.U., 16b.
101. Yadgar Nasir Mirza		T.U., 17b.
102. Amir Yunus Ali son of Baba Ali		Baburnama, 398, 472.
103. Shaikh Zain Khwafi	(Irani)	Baburnama, 476; T.U., 11a.
104. Qazi Jia	(Indian)	Baburnama 546
105. Muhammad Zaitun	(Indian)	T.U., 15b.
106. Husain Aqa Sistani	(Irani)	Baburnama, 506.
107. Mulla Apaq		Baburnama, 598.
108. Mir Bardi Beg		Baburnama
109. Tardi Beg		T.U., 11a.
110. Sadar Khan	(Indian)	T.U., 13a.
111. Sulaiman		T.U., 13b.
112. Arohi Sarwani	(Indian)	T.U., 14a.
113. Sher Afghan brother of Quch Beg		T.U., 15a.
114. Rahim Lad	(Indian)	T.U., 15a.
115. Tatar Khan	(Indian)	T.U., 17a.
116. Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi	(Indian)	T.U., 16b.

List of Nobles who accompanied Humayun to Iran *
from Akbarnama, I, 221 - 22

1. Bairam Khan
2. Khwaja Muazzam
3. Aqil Sultan Uzbek
4. Haji Muhammad Koki
5. Roshan Koka
6. Hasan Beg brother of Mahram Koka
7. Khwaja Maqsud of Hirat
8. Khwaja Ghazi Tabrezi
9. Khwaja Aminuddin Harvi
10. Baba Dost Bakhshi
11. Darwesh Muhammad Bengali Hirati
12. Hasan Ali Isq Aqa
13. Ali Dost Barbegi son of Hasan Ali Ishq Aqa
14. Ibrahim Ishq Aqa
15. Yusuf Choli a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Yasvi
16. Shaikh Bahlol
17. Maulana Nuruddin
18. Muhammad Qasim Mauji
19. Haider Muhammad Akhta Begi
20. Sayyid Muhammad Pakna
21. Sayyid Muhammad Quli Harvi
22. Hafiz Sultan Muhammad Rakhna
23. - 24. Mirza Beg Biloch of Khurasan and his son
25. Khwaja Ambar Nazir
26. Arif Tushkachin Mamluko

Mansabs held by Sayyids of Barha

(The first list is compiled from the list of *mansabdars* holding 200 *zat* or above, given in the *Ain*. This and the list in the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* relate to the years 1594-95.

The second list is entirely based on the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, and comes up to 1622).

1. *Mansabs* of Barha Sayyids under Akbar, c. 1594-95.

		Ain	*Tabaqat*
1.	Sayyid Mahmud	2000	4000
2.	Sayyid Ahmad Khan	2000	3000
3.	Sayyid Qasim	1500	2000
4.	Sayyid Hashim	1000	2000
5.	Sayyid Raju	1000	1000
6.	Sayyid Chhajjan	500	—
7.	Sayyid Jamaluddin	500	—
8.	Sayyid Lad	200	—
9.	Sayyid Bayazid	300	—

2. Mansabs of Barha Sayyids under Jahangir

		Tuzuk
1.	Ali Asghar Saif Khan	3000/2500
2.	Sayyid Ali Barha	2000/1500
3.	Sayyid Diler Khan	2000/1200
4.	Sayyid Qasim s/o Dilawar Khan	1000/ 600
5.	Izzat Khan	1000/ 800
6.	Sayyid Abdullah Barha	700/ 450
7.	Sayyid Hizabr Khan	1500/ 600
8.	Sayyid Bahwa	2000/1000
9.	Ali Muhammad	300/ 400
10.	Bahadur	400/ 200
11.	Sayyid Bayazid	2000/ 700
12.	Sayyid Alam Barha	1500/ 60

Mansabs held at the death of Akbar

Name	Racial group	Mansab	Source
1. Mirza Aziz Koka	(T)	7000/	Iqbal, 510
2. Raja Man Singh	(R)	7000/6000	Iqbal, 510; Takmila, III, 839.
3. Mirza Shahrukh	(T)	7000/6000	Iqbal, 506, but Tuzuk, 11 5000
4. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan	(I)	5000/5000	
5. Qulich Khan	(T)	5000/5000	Iqbalnama, 494; Takmila, 821
6. Said Khan Chaghta	(T)	5000	Ain, 25.
7. Mirza Rustam Safavi	(I)	5000	Ain, 9.
8. Shah Beg Khan	(T)	5000	Iqbalnama, 489; Takmila, 815
9. Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan	(T)	5000	Tuzuk, 33.
10. Raja Jagannath	(R)	5000	Tuzuk, 7; Takmila, 787.
11. Rai Rayan Bikarmajit		5000	Iqbal, 500; Takmila, 827
12. Shaikh Farid Bukhari	(Ind. Muslim)	4000	Iqbalnama, 505; Tuzuk, 9.
13. Rai Rai Singh	(R)	4000	Iqbalnama, 510; Takmila, 839
14. Raja Raj Singh	(R)	4000/3000	Iqbalnama, 510; Tuzuk, 63.
15. Asaf Khan	(I)	4000/2000	Iqbalnama, 505; Takmila, 834 (Tuzuk 7, 2500 only)
16. Rai Durga Sisodia	(R)	4000	Tuzuk, 63.
17. Payanda Khan Mughal	(T)	3500	Iqbalnama, 505; Takmila, 834
18. Madhao Singh	(R)	3000/2000	Iqbalnama, 494; Tuzuk, 7.

19. Rawal Sal Darbari	(R)	3000/1250	Tuzuk, 7.
20. Hakim Ali Gilani	(I)	3000/ 200	Iqbalnama, 508.
21. Makhsus Khan	(T)	3000/1500	Iqbalnama, 505
22. Pratap Zamindar of Baglana		3000	Takmila, 770.
23. Mirza Shamsuddin Khan	(T)	2500/2000	Iqbalnama, 505
24. Takta Beg Kabuli	(T)	2500	
25. Shaikh Abdur Rahman	(Ind. Muslim)	2000	Tuzuk, 8.
26. Shaikh Bayazid	(Ind. Muslim)	2000	Iqbalnama, 505; Tuzuk, 14
27. Maha Singh	(R)	2000	Tuzuk, 8; Takmila, 839.
28. Zahid Khan son of Sadiq Khan	(I)	2000	Tuzuk, 8.
29. Yusuf son of Husain Khan Tukaria	(T)	2000	Iqbalnama, 509; Takmila, 836-37
30. Qara Khan Turkman	(T)	2000	Tuzuk, 8.
31. Wazir Beg Jamil		2000	Ibid.
32. Miran Sadar Jahan	(Ind. Muslim)	2000	Ibid., 9.
33. Taj Khan	(T)	2000	Ibid., 13.
34. Tardi Khan	(T)	2000/ 500	Iqbalnama, 507; Takmila, 827.
35. Ram Das Kachhwaha	(R)	2000/1200	Iqbalnama, 508; Tuzuk, 9.
36. Mir Murtaza	(I)	2000/2000	Iqbalnama, 498; Takmila, 825.
37. Bairam son of Aziz Koka	(T)	2000	Tuzuk, 9.
38. Shaikh Daulat Bakhtiyar	(Ind. Muslim)	2000	Iqbalnama, 483; Takmila, 806.

39. Mir Bapus Vighur	(T)	2000	Ain, 73.
40. Samanji Khan	(T)	2000	Ibid., 100.
41. Mihtar Khan		2000	Ibid., 102.
42. Lala Beg Baz Bahadur	(T)	1500	Tuzuk, 9.
43. Hashim Khan son of Qasim Khan	(T)	1500	Tuzuk, 36; Takmila, 805.
44. Rahmat Khan Faujdar		1500/ 300	Iqbalnama, 507; Takmila, 836.
45. Shadman son of Khan-i Azam	(T)	1500/1500	Iqbalnama, 498.
46. Abdullah son of Khan-i Azam	(T)	1500/ 700	Ibid., 498.
47. Muhammad Qul Turkman	(T)	1500/ 600	Ibid., 480
48. Jalal Khan Gakhar	(Ind. Muslim)	1500	Ain, 170.
49. Raja Basu	(R)	1500	Tuzuk, 23.
50. Khwaja Abdullah	(T)	1000	Iqbalnama, 497; Tuzuk, 34.
51. Faridun Barlas	(T)	1000/ 500	Iqbalnama, 510 (Takmila, 839 has 1500)
52. Abedin Khwaja	(T)	1000/ 500	Iqbalnama, 508; Takmila, 834.
53. Khwaja Fathullah	(I)	1000	Iqbalnama, 497; Takmila, 824
54. Hakim Muzaffar	(I)	1000/ 200	Iqbalnama, 508 (Takmila, 836-37 gives 1200)
55. Pratap Singh	(R)	1000/ 500	Iqbalnama, 507; Takmila, 836-37.
56. Sakat Singh	(R)	1000/ 20	Iqbalnama, 508 (Takmila, 836-37 gives the rank of 1600).
57. Hamza Beg		1000/ 350	Iqbalnama, 508.
58. Bhao Singh	(R)	1000/ 500	Iqbalnama, 508 (Takmila,

59. Mir Sharif Kolabi	(T)	1000/ 500	Iqbalnama, 510.
60. Raja Shyam Singh Tonvar	(R)	1000	Ibid., 504.
61. Raja Jagatman Chauhan	(R)	1000	Ibid.
62. Ashraf Khan	(I)	1000/ 500	Ibid.
63. Kalyan Das son of Todar Mal		1000	Ibid., 505.
64. Iftikhar Beg		1000	Ibid.; Tuzuk, 85 (1500).
65. Mirza Anwar	(T)	1000	Ibid., 481.
66. Raja Bhoj	(R)	1000	Ibid.
67. Mir Jamaluddin Inju	(I)	900	Tuzuk, 21.
68. Mir Sharif Amuli	(I)	900	Ibid., 22.
69. Naqib Khan	(I)	900	Ibid.
70. Mirza Khurram	(T)	800	Ibid., 74.
71. Chin Qulij	(T)	800	Ibid., 53.
72. Zafar Khan	(I)	700	Ibid., 66.
73. Abul Qasim Namakin	(I)	700	Ibid., 13.
74. Ahmad Beg Khan	(T)	700	Ibid., 35.
75. Sadar Jahan	(Ind. Muslim)	700	Ibid., 13.
76. Ghayas Beg	(I)	700	Ibid
77. Salhadi	(R)	700	Takmila, 837.
78. Zain-ul Mulk	(I)	700	Ibid., 822.
79. Mir Gadai son of Mir Abu Turab	(I)	700	Takmila, 825.

80. Qazi Izzatullah	(I)	700	*Takmila*, 834.
81. Babu Mangali	(Afghan)	700	*Ibid*.
82. Hakim Ali Gilani	(I)	700	
83. Aminuddin	(I)	500	*Takmila*, 837.
84. Shaikh Kabir	(Ind. Muslim)	500	*Ibid*.
85. Mirza Wali	(T)	500	*Ibid*.
86. Ram Chand son of Madhukar	(R)	500	*Tuzuk*, 39.
87. Dalpat Bundela	(R)	500	*Ibid*., 111.
88. Ismail Quli son of Shah Quli Mahram	(I)	500	*Takmila*, 836.
89. Abul Bi Uzbek	(T)	500	*Ibid*., *Tuzuk*, 70.
90. Mir Abul Wahab		500	*Tuzuk*, 35.
91. Shaikh Ruknuddin Afghan		500	*Ibid*., 64.
92. Qamar Khan	(I)	500	
93. Muhammad Khan Niyazi		500	*Takmila*, 836.
94. Hakim Ainul Mulk Shirazi	(I)	500	*Ibid*., 605.
95. Khwaja Jahan	(T)	1500	*Tuzuk*, 93.

Mansabs held during six years of Jahangir

Name	Racial group	Mansab under Akbar	Mansab under Jahangir		Remarks
1. Muhammad Sharif	(I)		5000/5000	Tuzuk, 6	died in 7th r.y. Tuzuk, 113
2. Jafar Beg Asaf Khan	(I)	4000 (Tuzuk, 2500)	5000	Ibid., 7	died in 7th r.y. Ibid., 108.
3. Raja Jagannath	(R)	5000	5000	Ibid.	date of death not exactly known.
4. Madhao Singh	(R)	3000/2000	3000	Ibid.	No further reference in the Tuzuk
5. Rawal Sal Darbari	(R)	3000/1250	3000	Ibid.	Ibid.
6. Shaikh Ruknuddin Afghan	(Afghan)		3500	Ibid.	died in 2nd r.y. Tuzuk, 64.
7. Shaikh Abdur Rahman	(Indian Muslim)	2000	2000	Ibid., 8	Promoted to the rank of 2000/2000 in 2nd r.y. Tuzuk, 51, 57; died in 3rd r.y.
8. Maha Singh	(R)	2000	2000	Ibid., 8	Promotion after 6th r.y. Tuzuk, 106.
9. Zahid Khan son of Sadiq Khan	(I)	2000	2000	Ibid.	Promotion after 6th r.y. Tuzuk, 108.
10. Wazir Beg Jamil		2000	2000	Ibid.	
11. Qara Khan Turkman	(T)	2000	2000	Ibid.	
12. Shaikh Farid Bukhari	(Indian Muslim)	4000/2000	5000	Ibid., 9	5000/5000 in 4th r.y. Tuzuk, 76.
13. Ram Das Kachhwaha	(R)	2000	3000	Ibid.	
14. Lala Beg Baz Bahadur	(T)	1500 (Prince)	4000	Ibid.	

15. Kese Das Maru	(R)	300	1500, 1500/1500	Tuzuk,9,37	
16. Miran Sadr Jahan	(Ind. Muslim)	2000	4000	Ibid., 9	5000/5000 in 3rd r.y. Tuzuk,66
17. Ghayas Beg	(I)	700	1500	Ibid.	1500/25 in 3rd r.y. & 2000/500 in 6th r.y., Tuzuk,67,97.
18. Mirza Bairam	(T)	2000	2500	Ibid., 10.	
19. Mirza Sultan	(T)		1000	Ibid.	2000/1000 in 2nd r.y., Tuzuk, 57.
20. Bhao Singh	(R)	1000/ 500	1500	Ibid.	2000/1000 in 3rd r.y., Tuzuk, 66.
21. Zaman Beg Mahabat Khan	(I)	1500	2000/1300	Ibid.10,36	3000/2500 in 3d r.y. and 4000/3500 in 4th r.y., Tuzuk, 70, 89.
22. Bir Singh Deo	(R)		3000	Ibid., 10	4000/2000 in 6th r.y., Tuzuk, 100
23. Mirza Ali Akbar-shahi	(T)		4000	Ibid., 11	died in 11th r.y. Tuzuk, 163.
24. Khwaja Abdullah	(T)	1000	1000, 2500/1500	Ibid., 10, 36	3500/2000 in 3rd r.y. and 5000/2000 in 4th r.y., Tuzuk, 66, 75.
25. Abdul Nabi Uzbek	(T)	500	1500	Ibid., 12	Promotion after 6th r.y. Tuzuk,109
26. Ghayasuddin Ali Naqib Khan	(I)	900	1500	Ibid., 12	died in 9th r.y. Tuzuk, 129.
27. Shaikh Kabir Shujaat Khan	(Ind. Muslim)	500	1000, 1500/700	Ibid., 12, 39	1500/1500 in 2nd r.y. and 2000/1500 in 6th r.y., Tuzuk, 54, 93.
28. Tash Beg Qurji Khan Taj Khan	(T)	2000	3000	Ibid., 13	3000/2000 in 5th r.y., Tuzuk, 86.

29. Abul Qasim Namakin	(I)	700	1500	Tusuk, 13	
30. Shaikh Alauddin Islam Khan	(Ind. Muslim)		2000	Ibid.	4000/3000 in 3rd r.y. and 5000/5000 in 4th r.y., Tusuk, 68, 76.
31. Ali Asghar Barha Saif Khan	(Ind. Muslim)		3000 (2000/1000)	Ibid., 14, 35.	2500/1350 in 4th r.y. Tusuk, 75.
32. Faridun Barlas	(T)	1500	2000/ 500	Ibid., 14	1500/1300 in 3rd r.y. and 2500/2000 in 4th r.y. Tusuk, 68, 75.
33. Shaikh Bayazid (Muazzam Khan)	(Ind. Muslim)	2000	3000	Ibid.	4000/2000 in 3rd r.y., Tusuk, 66
34. Mir Jamaluddin Inju	(I)	900	3000	Ibid., 21	
35. Sharif Amuli	(I)	900	2500	Ibid., 22	
36. Dilawar Khan Afghan	(Afgh)		1500, 2000/1400	Ibid., 23, 36.	
37. Qayam Khan			1000/1000	Ibid., 36	
38. Shyam Singh	(R)	1000	1500/1200	Ibid., 37.	
39. Abul Hasan	(I)		1000/500	Ibid.	1500 in 3rd r.y. Tusuk, 66.
40. Shah Beg Khan	(T)	500	5000	Ibid., 23	
41. Raja Basu		1500	3500	Ibid.	
42. Aqa Mulla	(I)	200	1000/300	Ibid., 28	
43. Abedin Khwaja	(T)	1000/500	1000/1000	Ibid.	
44. Mirza Ghazi Tarkhan	(T)	5000/5000	5000/5000	Ibid., 33	
45. Hakim Fathullah	(I)	1000	1000/300	Ibid., 34.	
46. Sadullah Khan	(T)		2000/1000	Ibid.	
47. Ahmad Beg Khan	(T)	700	2000/1500	Ibid., 35	2500/1500 in 5th r.y., Tusuk, 82.

48.	Shaikh Ibrahim Kishwar Khan	(Ind. Muslim)			1000/300	Tuzuk, 36	1500/700 in 5th r.y., Tuzuk, 80.
49.	Hashim Khan son of Qasim Khan	(T)	1500		2500/1500	Ibid.	3000/2000 in 2nd r.y., Tuzuk, 60.
50.	Bas Bahadur Qalmaq	(T)			1000/1000	Ibid., 37	
51.	Bahadur Khan Qurbegi	(T)	400		1500/800	Ibid., 38.	
52.	Salabat Khan Khan-i Jahan Lodi	(Afg)		(2nd r.y.)	3000/1500, 5000/5000	Ibid., 42, 66	
53.	Chin Qulij son of Qulij Khan	(T)	800		800/500	Ibid., 53.	1300/800 in 5th r.y., Tuzuk, 96.
54.	Rana Shankar son of Udai Singh	(R)	200		2500/1000	Ibid., 54.	
55.	Rai Manohar	(R)	400		1000/1000	Ibid.	
56.	Iradat Khan son of Asaf Khan	(I)			1000/500	Ibid., 55.	
57.	Kishan Chand son of Mota Raja	(R)			1000/500	Ibid., 61.	
58.	Mir Khalil son of Ghayasuddin Mir Miran	(I)			1000/200	Ibid., 63.	
59.	Zafar Khan	(I)	700	(3rd r.y.)	2000/1000	Ibid., 66.	2500/1000 in 4th r.y., Tuzuk, 76.
60.	Payanda Khan Mughal	(T)	3500		2000	Ibid., 68	
61.	Ihtimam Khan				1000/300	Ibid., 68	
62.	Shamsuddin Jahangir Quli	(T)	2500/2000		2000/ 500, 3000/2500	Ibid., 68, 73.	
63.	Kishan Singh	(R)			2000/1000	Ibid., 72.	
64.	Hakim Ali	(I)	3000		2000	Ibid., 73	
65.	Raja Suraj Singh	(R)			3000/2000	Ibid.	

66.	Khurram, Kamil Khan	(T)	800	(4th r.y.)	2000/1500	Ibid., 74.	
67.	Karamchand son of Jagannath	(R)			2000/1500	Ibid.	
68.	Raj Singh	(R)	4000/3000		4000/3000	Ibid., 75.	
69.	Ghayas Khan (Inayat Khan)	(I)			1500/ 800	Ibid., 75	
70.	Mubarak Sarwani	(Afg)			1000/ 300	Ibid.	
71.	Abul Bi Uzbek	(T)			1500	Ibid., 76	
72.	Fidai Khan	(T)			1000/ 400	Ibid., 77	
73.	Khangar Khan brother of Abdullah Khan	(T)			1000/ 500	Ibid.	
74.	Badiuzzaman son of Shahrukh Mirza	(T)			1000/ 500	Ibid.	
75.	Safdar Khan	(T)	1000	(5th r.y.)	1500/ 700	Ibid., 80.	
76.	Muizul Mulk		1000		1200/ 350	Ibid., 83.	
77.	Qasim Khan	(T)	1000/ 500		1500/1000	Ibid., 85	1500/1250 in 6th r.y., Tuzuk, 96.
78.	Iftikhar Khan		1500		2000	Ibid.	
79.	Ghairat(Ghaznin) Khan Jalori		1500/ 500		2000	Ibid.	
80.	Abdus Subhan		200		1000/ 400	Ibid.	
81.	Sayyid Ali Barha	(Ind. Muslim)	1000/ 500		1500/ 700	Ibid., 87	
82.	Khwaja Jahan		1500/1000	(6th r.y.)	2000/1200	Ibid., 93	
83.	Abdur Razzaq Mamuri	(I)	1500		1800/ 250	Ibid., 95	
84.	Qulich Khan	(T)	5000/5000		6000/5000	Ibid., 96	

85. Raja Kalyan	(R)	1500	1700/1000	Ibid., 98
86. Shadman	(T)	1500/1500	1700/ 500	Ibid.
87. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan	(I)	5000	5000/5000	
88. Raja Man Singh	(R)	7000	7000	
89. Mirza Rustam Safavi	(I)	5000	5000/3000	
90. Mirza Aziz Koka	(T)	7000		

Mansabs held at the end of the 15th year of Jahangir

(Based on *Tusuk-i Jahangiri*)

Name	Racial group	Mansab	Source
1. Itimaduddaulah	(I)	7000/7000	Tusuk, 267
2. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan	(I)	7000/7000	
3. Mirza Aziz Koka	(T)	7000	
4. Khan-i Jahan Lodi	(Indian Afghan)	6000/6000	Ibid., 184.
5. Khwaja Abul Hasan	(I)	5000/2000	Ibid., 309.
6. Bahadur Khan	(T)	5000/4000	Ibid., 310.
7. Raja Bir Singh Deo	(R)	5000/5000	Ibid., 288.
8. Asaf Khan	(I)	5000/4000, 4000 2h-3h	Ibid., 223
9. Mirza Rustam Safavi	(I)	5000/5000	Ibid.
10. Darab Khan	(I)	5000/5000	Ibid.

11. Khan-i Alam	(T)	5000/3000	*Tuzuk*, 288.
12. Itibar Khan Khwajasara		5000/3000	*Ibid.*, 184, 344.
13. Mirza Raja Bhao Singh	(R)	5000/3000	*Ibid.*, 337.
14. Muqarrab Khan	(Ind. Muslim)	5000/5000	*Ibid.*, 338.
15. Kr. Karan son of Rana Amar Singh	(R)	5000/5000	*Ibid.*, 138.
16. Mir Jamaluddin Inju	(I)	5000/3500	*Ibid.*, 156, 327.
17. Lashkar Khan son of Khwaja Beg Mirza	(I)	4000/2500	*Ibid.*, 229, 326.
18. Itiqad Khan	(I)	4000/1500	*Ibid.*, 306.
19. Mahabat Khan	(I)	4000/3500	*Ibid.*
20. Raja Bherjun of Baglana		4000	*Ibid.*
21. Zafar Khan	(I)	4000/2500	*Ibid.*, 343
22. Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang	(I)	4000/4000	*Ibid.*, 155
23. Qasim Khan Muhtashim Khan	(Ind. Muslim)	4000/4000	*Ibid.*, 150, 328.
24. Khanjar Khan		3000/3000	*Ibid.*, 315.
25. Hasan Ali Khan Turkman	(T)	3000/3000	*Ibid.*, 308
26. Nawazish Khan son of Said Khan	(T)	3000/2000	*Ibid.*, 309.
27. Raja Gaj Singh son of Suraj Singh	(R)	3000/2000	*Ibid.*, 277.
28. Eldest son of Ahmad Beg Khan	(T)	3000	*Ibid.*, 233.
29. Yusuf Khan son of Husain Khan Tukaria	(T)	3000/1500	*Ibid.*, 200
30. Mukarram Khan son of Muazzam Khan	(Ind. Muslim)	3000/2000	*Ibid.*, 215, 359.

31. Uda Ram (Deccani)	(Deccani)	3000/1500	Tuzuk, 357
32. Bahadurul Mulk	(Ind.Muslim)	3000/2300	
33. Jahangir Quli son of Aziz Koka	(T)	3000/2500	Ibid., 136
34. Rawal Sal Darbari	(R)	3000/1250	Ibid., 7
35. Ilahdad Afghan	(Afghan)	2500/1200	Ibid., 304
36. Shujaat Khan Arab	(T)	2500/2000	Ibid., 305
37. Sadiq Khan	(I)	2500/1400	Ibid., 306.
38. Sarbuland Rai	(R)	2500/1500	Ibid., 272.
39. Sarfaraz Khan son of Musahib Beg	(T)	2500/1400	Ibid., 205, 224
40. Raja Shyam Singh	(R)	2500/1400	
41. Bairam s/o Khan-i Azam	(T)	2500	Ibid., 10.
42. Abdul Aziz Naqshbandi	(T)	2000/1500	Ibid., 320
43. Amanullah s/o Mahabat Khan	(I)	2000/1300	Ibid., 343-44.
44. Mubariz Khan Afghan	(Afghan)	2000/1700	Ibid., 320
45. Qasim Khan		2000/1500	Ibid., 323.
46. Amanat Khan	(I)	2000/ 400	Ibid., 320
47. Himmat Khan		2000/1500	Ibid.
48. Mir Miran	(I)	2000/1500	Ibid., 310
49. Mir Jumla	(I)	2000/ 300	Ibid., 304
50. Tatar Khan		2000/ 500	Ibid.
51. Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari	(Ind.Muslim)	2000/1500	Ibid., 305
52. Jan Sipar Khan	(T)	2000/1500	Ibid.

53. Raja Kishan Das	(R)	2000/ 300	Tuzuk, 282
54. Ikram Khan	(Ind.Muslim)	2000/1500	Ibid., 278
55. Mukhlis Khan	(T)	2000/ 700	Ibid., 280
56. Raaja Suraj Singh	(R)	2000/2000	Ibid., 269
57. Manuchahar son of Shahnawaz Khan	(I)	2000/1000	Ibid., 270
58. Ani Rai Singh Dalan	(R)	2000/1600	Ibid., 266
59. Iradat Khan	(I)	2000/1000	Ibid., 232, 332
60. Mir Abu Salih 'Rizvi Khan'	(I)	2000/1000	Ibid., 232
61. Keshav Das Maru	(R)	2000/1200	Ibid., 193
62. Ali Khan Tatari		2000/1500	
63. Rawal Kalyan Jaisalmeri	(R)	2000/1000	Ibid., 163
64. Balju Qalich Khan	(T)	2000/1200	Ibid., 174
65. Sayyid Ali Barha	(Ind.Muslim)	2000/1200	
66. Raja Nath Mal		2000/1200	Ibid., 145
67. Wafadar Khan		2000/1200	Ibid., 138
68. Kishwar Khan		2000/2000	Ibid.
69. Iftikhar Khan son of Mirza Rustam Safavi	(I)	2000/2000	Ibid., 65.
70. Khurram, Kamil Khan son of Aziz Koka	(T)	2000/1500	Ibid., 74.
71. Karamchand son of Jagannath	(R)	2000/1500	Ibid.
72. Mirza Wali	(T)	2000/1000	Ibid., 283, 344
73. Mirza Sultan	(T)	2000/1000	Ibid., 10.

74. Wazir Beg Jamil		2000	*Tuzuk*, 8.
75. Qara Khan Turkman	(T)	2000	*Ibid.*
76. Abdur Razzaq Mamuri	(I)	1800	*Ibid.*, 95.
77. Muizul Mulk		1800/ 350	
78. Raja Kalyan		1700/1000	*Ibid.*,= 98.
79. Shadman s/o Aziz Koka	(T)	1700/ 500	*Ibid.*
80. Nahar Khan		1500/1000	*Tuzuk*, 236, 365
81. Raja Sangram of Jammu		1500/1000	*Ibid.*, 314
82. Alaf Khan Qayam Khan	(Muslim R)	1500/1000	*Ibid.*, 320
83. Sayyid Hizabr Khan Barha	(Ind.Muslim)	1500/1000	*Ibid.*, 223
84. Fidai Khan		1500/700	*Ibid.*, 309
85. Man Singh son of Rawat Shankar	(R)	1500/ 800	*Ibid.*, 310
86. Mir Husamuddin Inju	(I)	1500/ 500	*Ibid.*
87. Mutamid Khan	(I)	1500/ 600	*Ibid.*, 293.
88. Debi Chand Gowaliori		1500/ 500	*Ibid.*, 304
89. Baqar Khan	(I)	1500/ 500	*Ibid.*, 287, 327
90. Nasrullah s/o Fathullah		1500/ 400	*Ibid.*, 274
91. Maktub Khan		1500	*Ibid.*, 236
92. Badiuzzaman s/o Shahrukh	(T)	1500/1500	*Ibid.*, 230, 344
93. Qizilbash Khan	(I)	1500/1200	*Ibid.*, 302.
94. Ram Das son of Raja Raj Singh	(R)	1500/ 700	*Ibid.*, 207
95. Bahlol Miana Sarbuland Khan		1500/1200	*Ibid.*, 203, 344

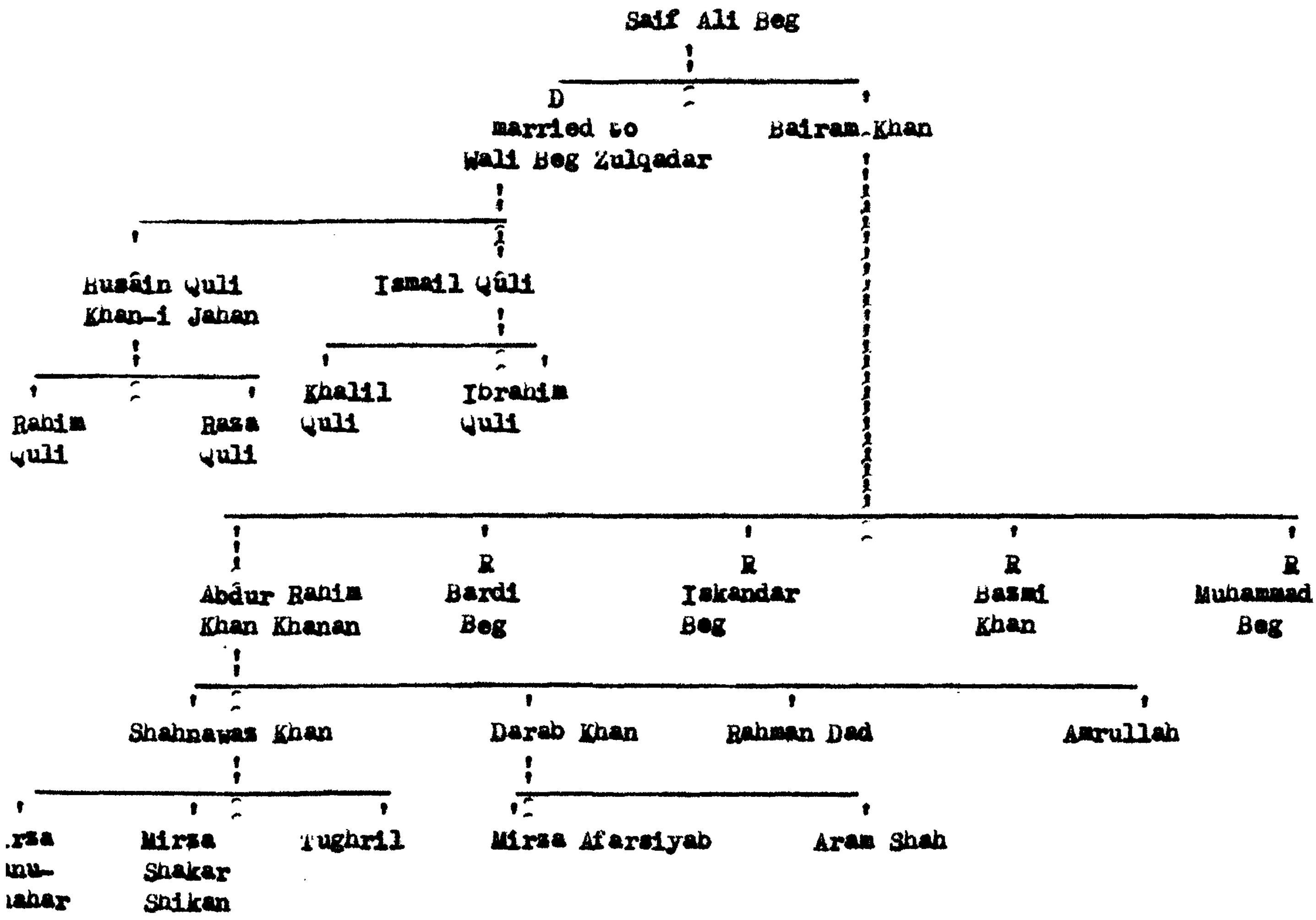
96. Mirza Isa Tarkhan	(T)	1500/ 800	Tuzuk, 148
97. Sardar Khan	(T)	1500/ 800	Ibid., 159, 344
98. Mubarak Khan Sarwani	(Afghan)	1500/ 700	
99. Mustafa Khan		1500/ 250	
100. Mutaqid Khan	(T)	1500/ 350	
101. Safdar Khan		1500/ 700	
102. Mirza Husain Kifaya Khan		1200/ 300	Ibid., 218.
103. Tarsun Bahadur		1200	
104. Jalal Khan Kakar	(Ind.Muslim)	1000/ 600	Ibid., 312
105. Sardar Afghan	(Afghan)	1000/ 400	Ibid., 320
106. Zabardast Khan		1000/ 500	Ibid., 321
107. Zahid Khan son of Shujaat Khan	(T)	1000/ 500	Ibid., 200, 322
108. Akbar Quli Gakhar	(Ind.Muslim)	1000/1000	Ibid., 308
109. Diler Khan brother of Izzat Khan Barha	(Ind.Muslim)	1000/ 800	Ibid.
110. Sayyid Ahmad Sadr	(Ind.Muslim)	1000	Ibid.
111. Mirza Husain son of Mirza Rustam	(I)	1000/500	Ibid.
112. Bizan s/o Mad Ali	(T)	1000/ 500	Ibid., 309
113. Shaikh Farid son of Qutubuddin Khan	(Ind.Muslim)	1000/ 400	Ibid., 304
114. Miran Jalari	(T)	1000/ 400	Ibid.
115. Mir Khan son of Abul Qasim Namakin	(I)	1000/ 600	Ibid., 303
116. Sayyid Bahwa	(Ind.Muslim)	1000/ 600	Ibid., 282

117. Khwaja Abdul Latif Qush Begi		1000/ 400	
118. Ilahyar s/o Iftikhar Khan	(T)	1000/ 500	Tusuk, 273
119. Aqil Khan		1000/ 800	Ibid., 274
120. Bahlim Khan		1000/ 500	Ibid., 275
121. Shah Muhammad son of Khan-i Dauran	(T)	1000/ 600	
122. Baba Khwaja	(T)	1000/ 600	Ibid., 286
123. Maqsud Khan		1000/ 130	Ibid., 276.
124. Tughril son of Shahnawaz Khan	(I)	1000/ 500	Ibid., 270
125. Fazil Khan		1000/ 500	Ibid., 272
126. Mirza Ibrahim Husain Kashghari	(T)	1000/ 500	Ibid., 272, 344
127. Sadat Khan		1000/ 60	Ibid., 272
128. Jagat Singh s/o Raja Basu		1000/ 500	Ibid., 264
129. Muzaffar son of Burhanul Mulk		1000/ 500	Ibid., 239
130. Ibrahim Khan (Aqidat Khan)		1000/ 200	Ibid., 246
131. Girdhar s/o Raisal	(R)	1000/ 800	Ibid., 248
132. Abdullah son of Khan-i Azam	(T)	1000/ 300	Ibid.
133. Salih nephew of Jafar Beg Asaf Khan	(I)	1000/ 300	Ibid., 224
134. Sayyid Nizam	(Ind.Muslim)	1000/ 700	Ibid., 230
135. Ali Quli Beg Darman		1000/ 700	Ibid.
136. Nuruddin Quli		1000/ 600	Ibid., 207, 358

137. Raja Bhim Narayan of Garha		1000/ 500	Tuzuk, 203
138. Jai Singh son of Maha Singh	(R)	1000/ 500	Ibid., 192
139. Hakim Beg		1000/ 200	Ibid., 194
140. Sikandar Jauhari		1000/ 300	Ibid., 185
141. Sayyid Qasim Barha	(Ind.Muslim)	1000/ 600	Ibid., 163
142. Karam Sen Rather	(R)	1000/ 300	Ibid., 143
143. Khwaja Taqi		1000/ 180	Ibid., 140
144. Zorawar Khan		1000/1000	Ibid., 140
145. Ihtimam Khan		1000/ 300	
146. Kishan Chand son of Mota Raja		1000/ 500	Ibid., 61
147. Mir Khalilullah son of Mir Miran		1000/ 200	Ibid., 63
148. Bam Bahadur Qalmaq		1000/1000	
149. Aqa Mulla brother of Asaf Khan Jafar Beg		1000/ 300	Ibid., 28.
150. Abedin Khwaja		1000/1000	Ibid.

Appendix B

I. Family Chart of Bairam Khan

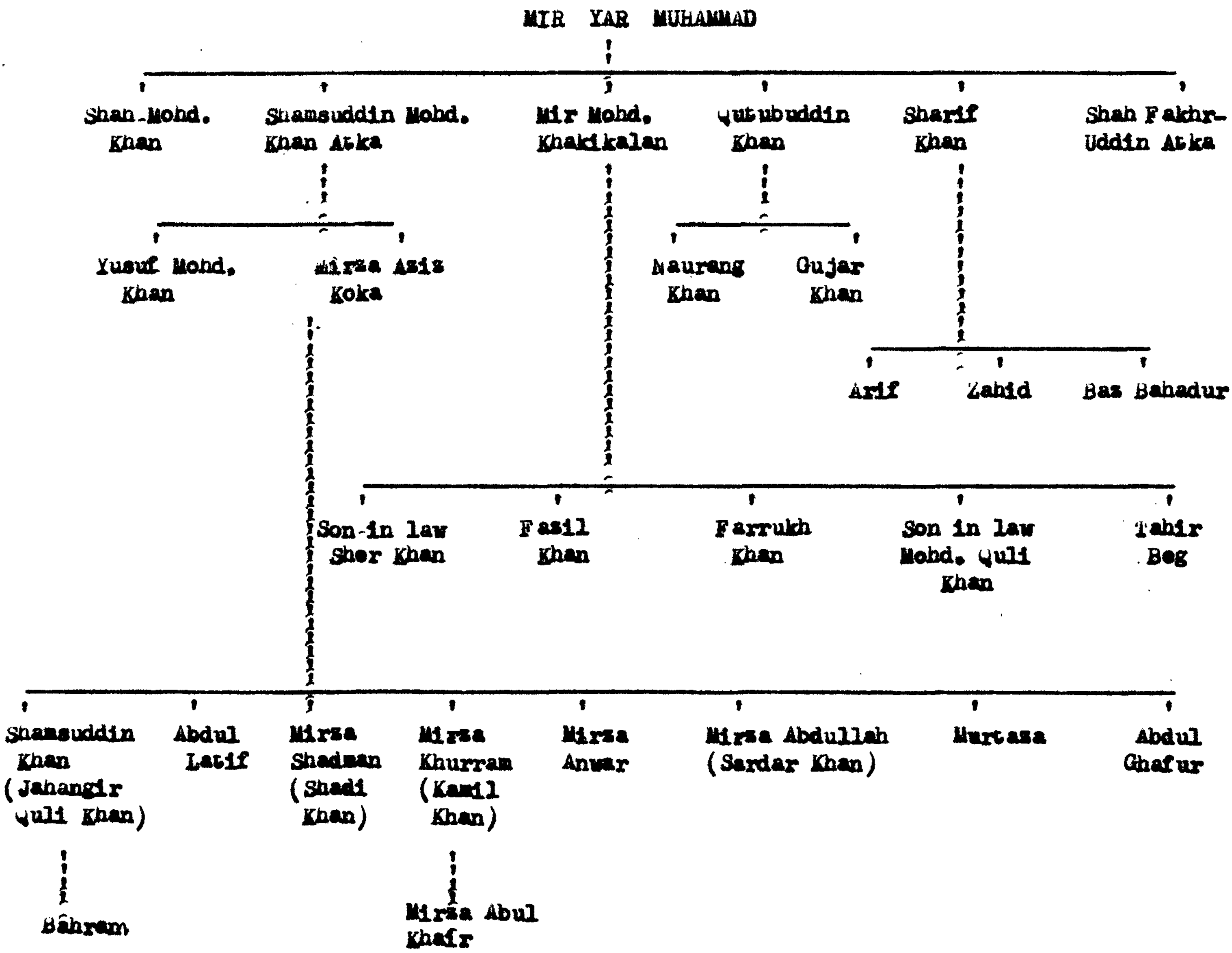


D : Daughter

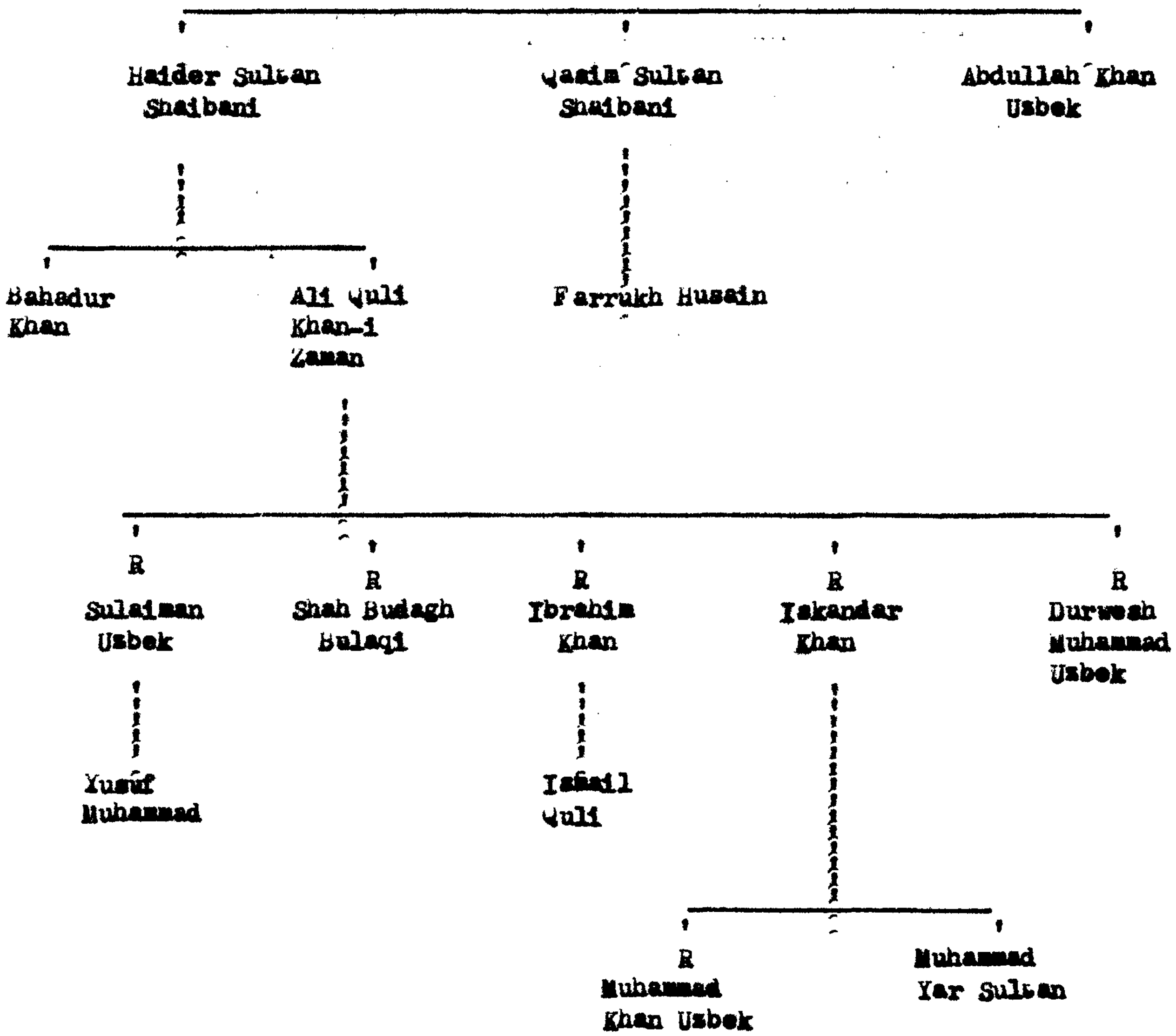
R : Relation

S : Son

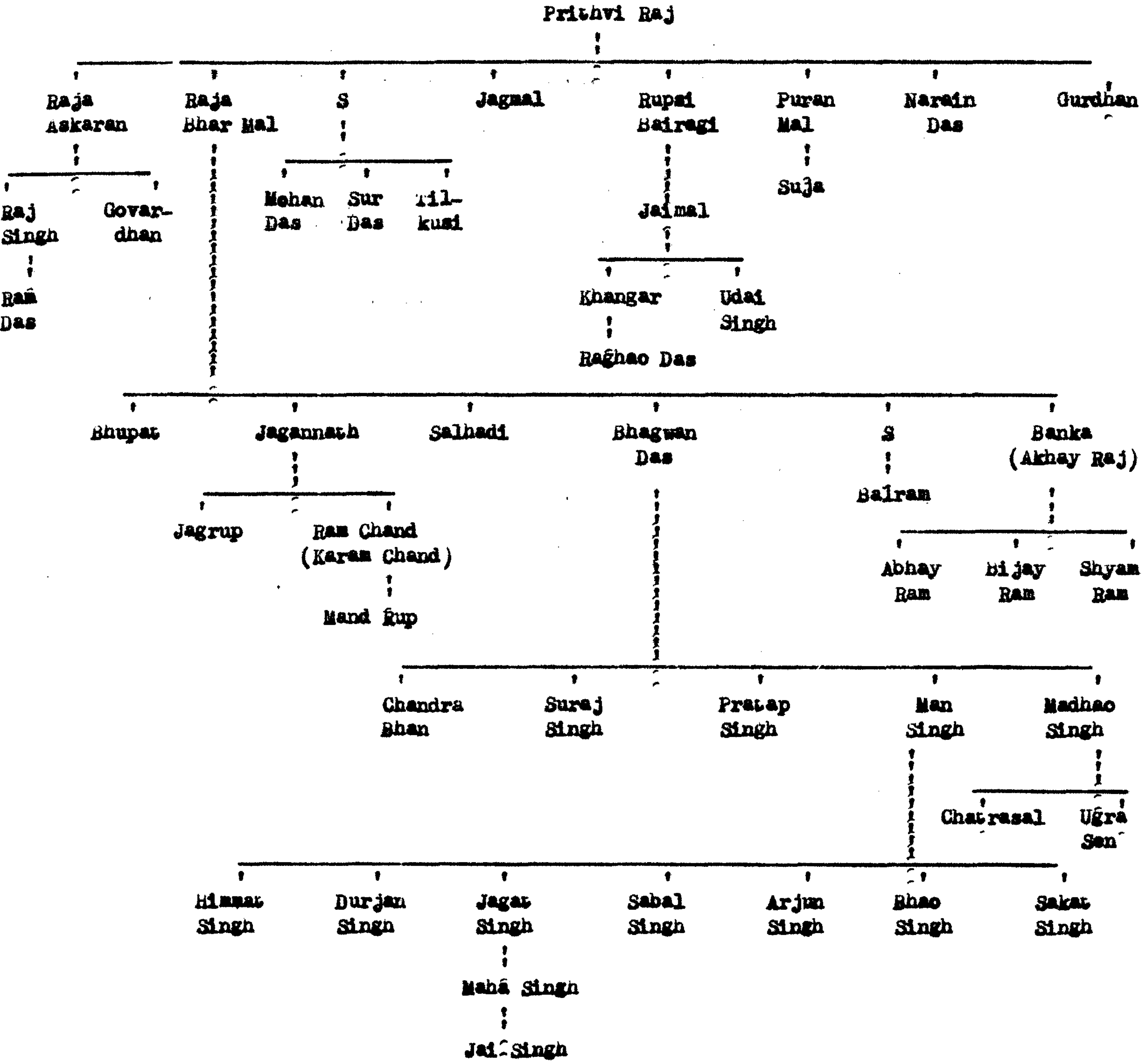
II. Family Chart of Shamsuddin Atka



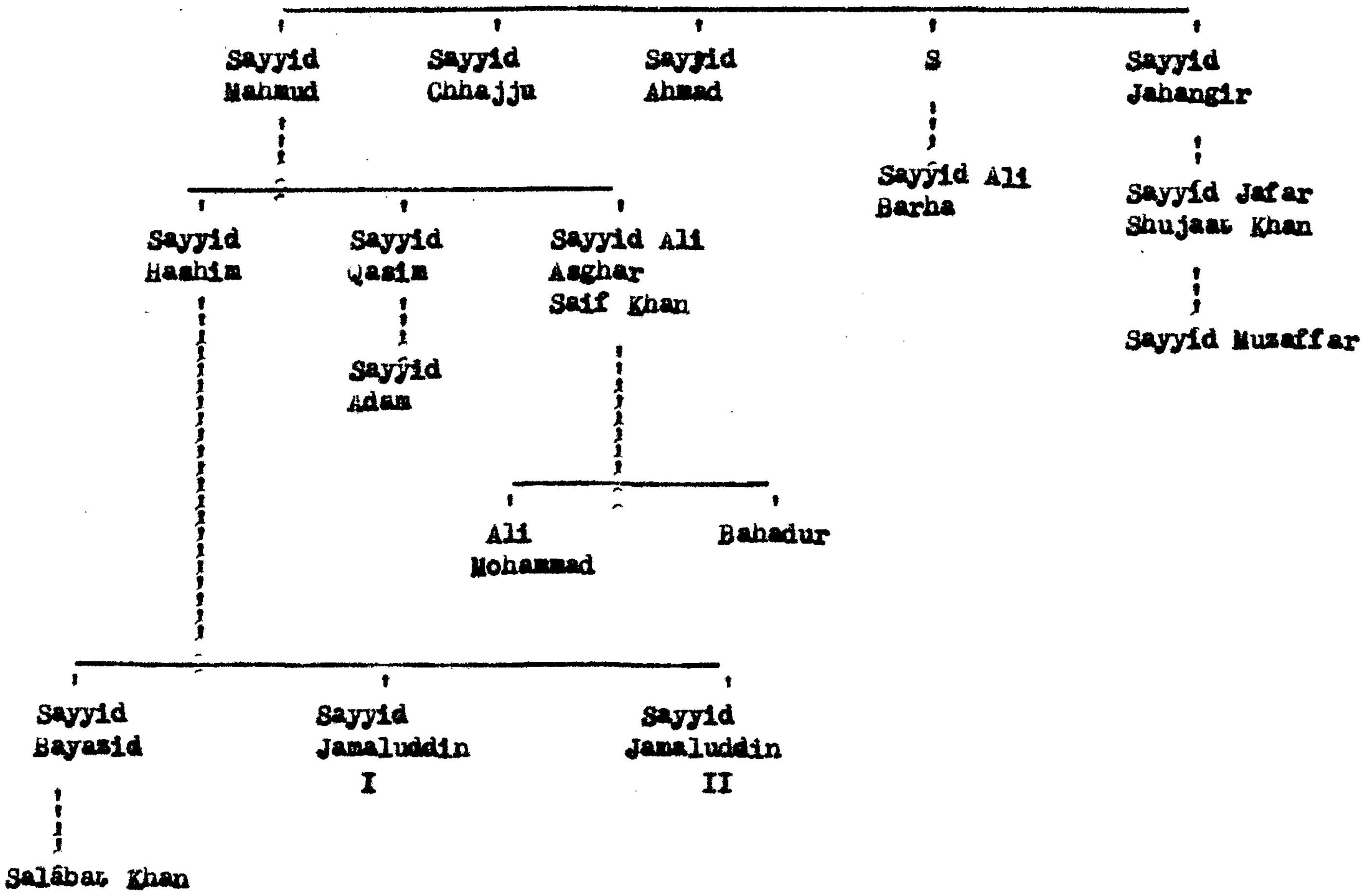
III. Family Chart of Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman



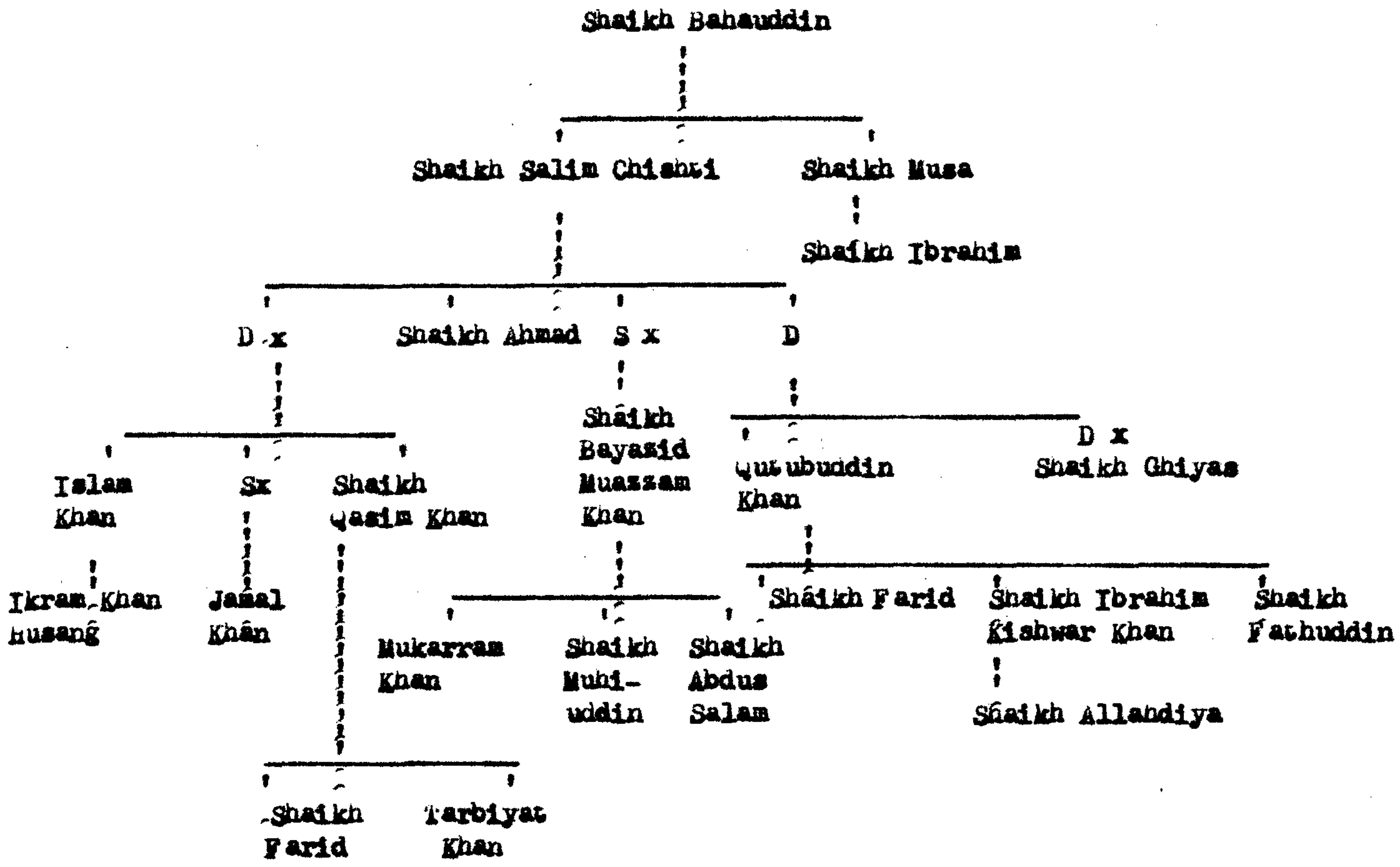
IV. Family Chart of Bhar Mal Kachhwaha



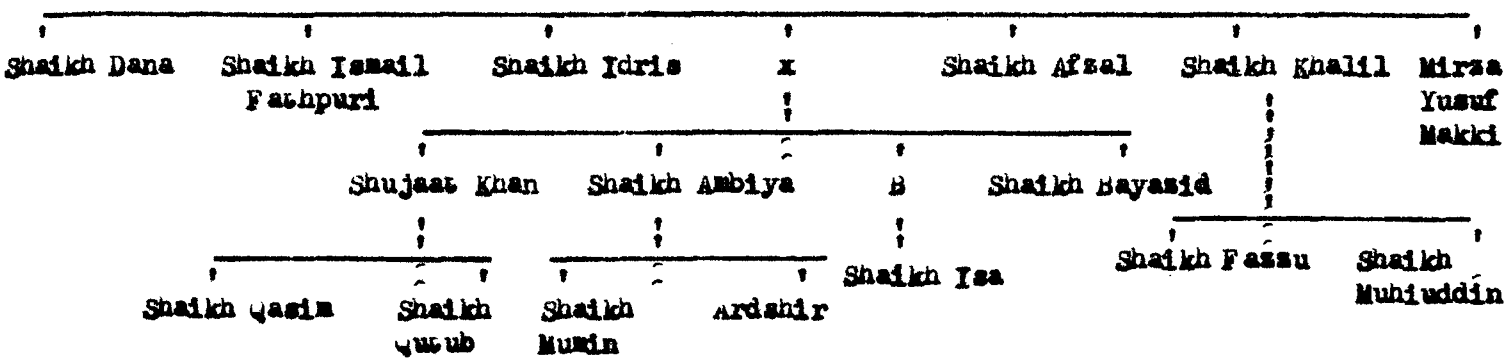
V. Family Chart of Barha Sayyids



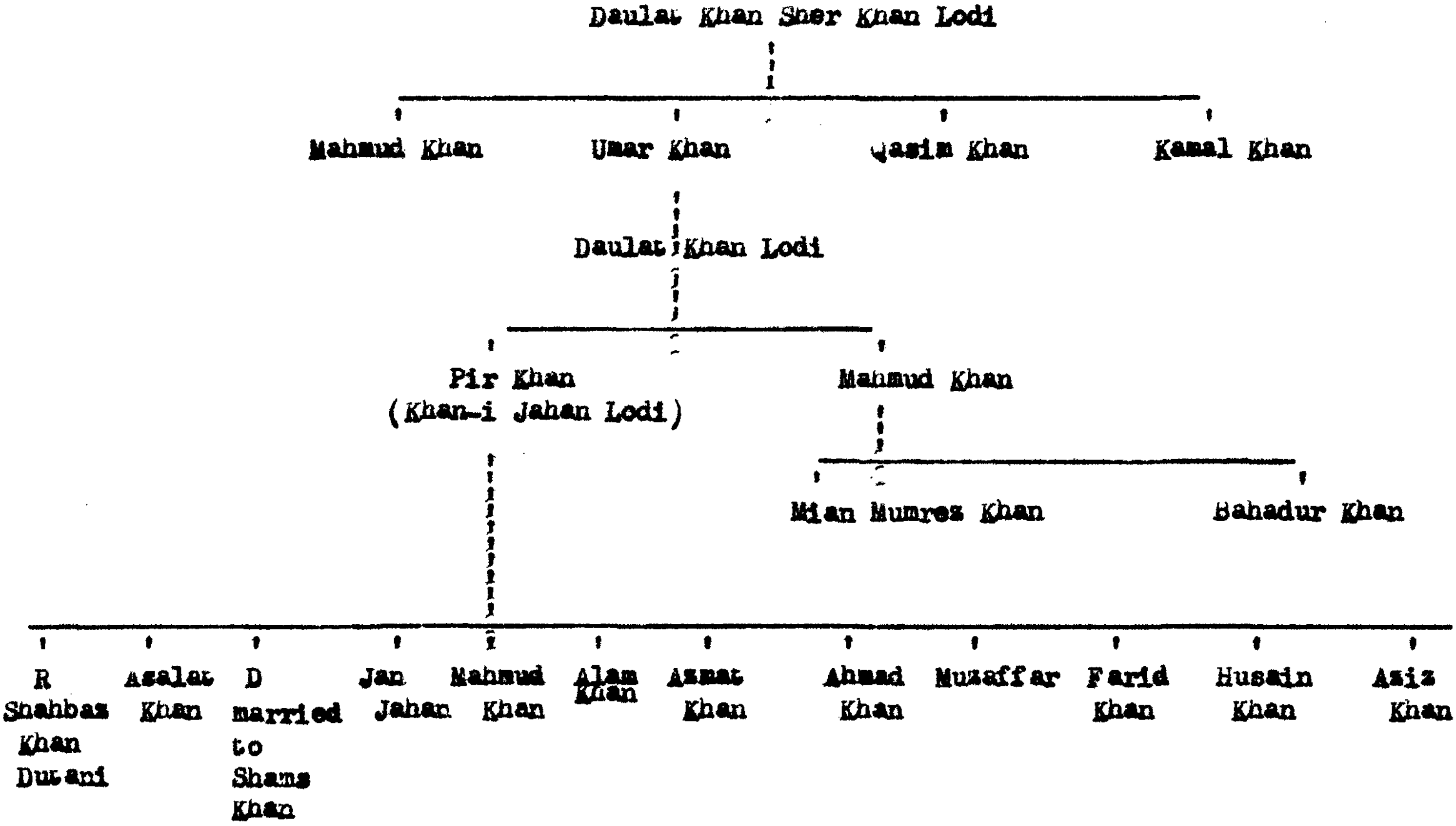
VI. Family Chart of Shaikh Salim Chishti



Relations of Shaikh Salim Chishti



VII. Family Chart of Daulat Khan Lodi



VIII. Family Chart of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang

x

- D̆x married to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi
- Abdullāh Khan Firoz Jang
  - Abdūr Rasul
  - D̆ x married to Khwaja Hissari Khan-i Dauran
  - Mirẑa Khan
- Mirza Yadgar Sardar Khan
  - Ghairat Khan
- Mirza Barkhurdar

Appendix 'C'

Khan-i Azam's petition (arzdasht) in reply of Akbar's letter.

The most humble servant of the Royal Court, high as saturn and the Dwelling Place of the angels, of the Emperor who holds the insignia of Jamshed, the grandeur of Faridun, the power of Kaikhusrau; whose court is like Kumars', the magnificence like Alexander's, who is the refuge of the world, whose armies are (as numerous) as stars and whose camp is (as vast) as the sky; the Shadow of God, Aziz Koka makes submission that the imperial (exalted) order was issued for the summons of this humble servant. (In compliance) the heart and soul, which are the water and clay in substance (his sons) were sent along with a great many sincere and devoted nobles to the Imperial ~~of the chamberlains of the~~ court where the entire world takes refuge and which is the fountain head of generosity and majesty. But as the magistrate of wisdom and the judge of doubt, or rather certainty, had already handed down the judgement (condemning) with pangs of separation and frustration (I had no choice) but stay away with the tormented body holding the neck in the reproaching hands. As he (the petitioner) was convinced that the whispers of the antagonists and the instigations of the enemies have gone home and they have succeeded in turning away the royal temperament from this servant through the means of slanders and columnies brought to the royal ears, and that one who is the guide of the world-adorning opinion (1) and other attendants of the court have plotted the destruction of this guiltless one. He felt that for this humble and worthless existence, which has grown in the service of the worthies of that sky-high court so much that

1. Obiviously, Abul Fazl.

has attained the status of Azam Khan and Aziz Koka and was honoured with the government of Gujarat, it would be only fit in view of these honours to take this body to the Sacred dust of Mecca as it would be ill-mannered and unworthy to consign it to the same dust in the same place along with the infidels of Hindustan who are the creatures of the King's bounties and favours. Therefore, entrusting Gujarat, which is a prosperous province of the Empire, to the confidants, and removing the dust of anxiety and vexation from the minds of the attendants (lit. sweepers) of that angelic court, and having withdrawn his hand from all claims (matalabat) and removing my feet thence he took out the provisions that he had gathered through his exertions and courage in the battles against the infidels and considering it the most lawful wherewithal undertook this departure. These earnings were sufficient to enlist troops that could buy for him the position of Azam Khani in the Court of the Ottoman ruler (<u>badshah-i Rum</u>) who controls the choicest parts of the unhabited world. But his only ambition is to fix stipends for the deserving by pious people of that land and establish there a <u>madrasah</u> in the name of the Emperor which may be an object of the attention of the historians till the last day, and busy himself in that <u>madrasah</u> in investigations in the religious sciences and contemplation of poetry in the praise of God and encomium of the prophet and the companions and pray for the ever-increasing dominions. He knew it for certain that his going away would not in any way affect the attendants (lit. sweepers) of that court, rather it would accomplish the objective of the destructors and back-biters, who wish the inexistence of this non-existent as they don't consider this unfortunate one worthy of the status of Azam Khan and the government of Gujarat,

and the honour of Aziz Kokagi (foster brotherhood). Out of necessity, he made an offering of all the above-mentioned things to his detractors who could not get these without his while this humble servant might have these thing without any need of them and even outside Hindustan. And at last when the breeze of favours and bounties turned to the benefit of others and the sapling of the hopes and rights of this servant was consigned to the blistering wind of disappointment, he makes bold to submit the following to the inhabitants of the august threshold out of the considerations of devotion and foresight. God forbid that those few who are creating in the royal mind an aversion from the religion of the Prophet, (peace be on him) should be deemed friends while this humble servant who only wishes a good name (for the king) in both the worlds should be considered an enemy worthy of expulsion. Now this world is nothing more than a perishable amusement and, therefore, reliance should be put on the flatteries of those who are ever-ready to sell Salvation ~~world~~ for this world and, after all, the entire world has not lost its understanding and judgement. There have been rulers who commanded great power and authority but it never occurred to anyone of them to advance a claim for Prophethood and strive to abrogate the religion of Muhammad. Until and unless there is a miraculous book and some chosen friends like the four friends (of the Prophet) and happenings like the splitting of the moon, the people would never accept it. O my God ! who are the people who claim to become the four friends : is it Qulich Khan who possesses the inward and outward purity and natural innocence, or is it Sadiq Khan who received the honour of <u>rikabdari</u>

from Bairam Khan, or is it Abul Fazl whose virtue and courage is to be equalled with those of Usman and Ali? By God and by the dust of Emperor's feet, there is none except Aziz Koka who wants a good name, all others depend on flattery and passing out time; the only one who wants a good (of the Empire) is this servant who till the end did not speak of anything but the goodness. Now here in Sacred Mecca also he would not do anything which detract of the good name: (couplet:)

> Anyone who chooses a way opposite to the way of the Prophet
> Will never reach the destination.

The difference between the dignitaries of that paradise-like assembly and this humble servant is that the words 'Abul Ghazi' have been added in his farman. Others have preferred infidels over Muslims and this will remain imprinted on the pages of the days and nights. It is sincerity which is incumbent on this servant and in that he had never lacked.

Benedictions.

Arzdasht, addressed to the Emperor

Gowaliornama (17b-19b)

The writer says that the responsibility of the business assigned to him against the accused Rana is really a serious one. Until the completion of this business, possibility to show his face is remote. He further says that as His Majesty knows the fact well that Arsh Ashiyani Akbar has been anxious to uproot the seeds of this evil monger for fifty years. From the day of His Majesty's accession till date a period of seven years has elapsed - the imperial armies have been campaigning against the accused Rana without success. Your Majesty ! the business cannot be brought to an end in this way. (No doubt) the fortune of His Majesty is stronger, but care should be taken for the real modes to bring this campaign to an end. Your Exalted one ! may God preserve you, the well-wishers have taken oaths to tell the false things and not to communicate the truth, and to work in disunity. Your Majesty had cited in the farman that the people of suba of Kabul had spoiled the campaign on account of dissension. Your Majesty, whereas the dissension is there under the very imperial throne, the people of the (various) provinces are not much to be blamed. The dissensions at the court strengthen the dissension outside. If the said seed of discard is uprooted from the court, nothing of that sort could take place on the frontiers and in the provinces. This expedition has been assigned to this servant now that his age is seventy six years old, has lost much of his strength is hard of hearing, failing eye sight with falling

teeth. He lacks in strength to mount a horse and do something. By the generosities of Arsh Ashiyani and Your Majesty the servant has no desire left to be fulfilled, therefore he requests for the accord of permission for retiring to corner and engaging himself in praying for the (prosperity) of the Emperor.

This expedition is for ambitious young men who aspire for the mansab of 5000, can mount a horse and use sword with determination. The assignment of mansab and jagir to this servant is sheer wastage which it could have satisfied brave young people. This servant cannot serve any purpose now. May God preserve Your Majesty. I accept any of the (following) three alternatives: Firstly, to be allowed to act as attendant to the tomb of Hazrat Arsh Ashiyani and be permitted for kornish once a week. Secondly, to retire to a corner in offering five time prayers and recite Quran and thirdly, be allowed to pass the remaining part of life under the (shadow) of your throne as it is no more possible for me to move about in the service of the Master. Moreover, I don't command any army. My old servants have become old and the new ones do not know the temperaments and attitudes. If His Majesty has already decided to assign this campaign to this servant despite his disinclination, he has no option to refuse imperial mandate, nor can dare to do so. A plan for the management of the expedition which was submitted earlier is being put for the imperial consideration. The armies of the thanas of Gujarat suba should march via Sirohi and the armies of Shahabad also from the same route; Raja Suraj Singh and Safdar Khan should march through Doi (?) and this servant should come through Mandesur so that a four pronged attack

may be launched. By God's grace and Emperor's good fortune either the accused (Rana) would be captured or expelled from the country. Adequate money should also be granted so that the campaign may be accomplished. If His Majesty desires to protect the thanas, Raja Basu and Safdar Khan were competent enough for the job.

May God preserve the exalted one, Abdullah Khan and Mahabat Khan were appointed to the expedition and an adequate war material was provided for the same. Now probably some decline in the strength of the Rana has been reported to the imperial ears and the letters of Abdullah Khan who stayed back without any excuse and endeared in the eyes of His Majesty and pretended that he (Rana) could be overcome ~~and pretended that he (Rana) could be overcome~~ in a single onslaught and through these tricks succeeded in getting the charge of the suba of Gujarat. But the strength of the accused (Rana) has not decreased but rather went on increasing day by day. The consequence of the expedition of the Deccan led by Abdullah Khan was that not withstanding his interpidity he fled from the Deccan and spoiled the whole thing. (In reward) to this matchless bravery the title of Jan Sipar Yakrang Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang was bestowed on him. He spoiled the expedition against Rana in this way and those to the Deccan in that way and was honoured with high titles.

There can be no praise for the wisdom and farsightedness of the well wishers of the Empire that the affairs of Kabul were entrusted to Qulich Khan who could not take care of himself, whose teeth have fallen, has lost his eye sight, hearing power and was by the time totally invalid and

whom they carried about like corpse. As a result of falsehood and dissension Khan Khanan was deprived of the governorship of Kabul and Qulich Khan appointed in spite of the facts mentioned above. Then his son who scattered the entire imperial army, left them to be killed and himself fleeing from there came to the court and through sheer lies and concoctions managed to get himself appointed governor of Gujarat and honoured with alam and naqqara. Though the Kabul affairs were spoiled in this way, the wisdom and farsightedness of the people in His Majesty's service may be imagined that despite such a hopeless performance they entrusted him again for the same duties.

What can be said in this respect. Your Majesty may God preserve, the kings have been applying the sorts of remedies and keeping the opinion of muhandis before them have been cited in the historical accounts of Nausherwan, Alexander, Kaikhusrau, Kaiqubad and what sort of devices they applied to achieve a business have been recorded and they are suggested to be studied. Specially Sher Khan Afghan was not an angel (malak) but a king (malik). In six years he gave such stability to the structure (of the kingdom) that foundation still survives. He had made Hindustan flourishing in such a way that the King of Iran and Turan appreciate it, and have a desire to look at it. Hazrat Arsh Ashiyani (Akbar) followed his administrative manual (zawabit for fifty years and did not discontinue them. In the same Hindustan due to the able administration of the well wishers of the court, nothing is left except rabble and jungles. His Majesty Akbar during the fifty years of his reign

increased the number of Chaghtais and Rajputs among nobles for these people are not seditious. They know nothing but loyalty. Since your accession, Your Majesty destroyed both groups and had entrusted your entire business to Khurasanis and Shaikhzadas who know nothing but hypocrisy and sedition, and it is because of this that they do not have any faith in anybody who is assigned some duty. It was in this way that when a duty was assigned to this servant and he was sent away, and has yet not reached Burhanpur, orders started coming in that the affairs of the place are in the care of 'son' Khan-i Jahan and therefore the same should be settled in consultation with him.

The servant though he gets old even then he is made happy. And then he is handed over the letter (of manumission) and is made free. What has been done in the darkness of night, let it be done, but the same cannot be done in the light of the day.

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